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Bishop Parker's history of his



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BISHOP PARKER's
HISTORY
Of His Own Time.
IN FOUR BOOKS.

Faithfully Translated from the *Latin* Original,
By **THOMAS NEWLIN, M. A.**
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L O N D O N :

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Bp. *PARKER*'s
HISTORY
OF
His 'Own Time.

In FOUR BOOKS.

BOOK I.

WHEN *Charles* the second was 1660.
return'd to the kingdoms of
his ancestors, to the great joy
of almost all his subjects, we hop'd for
a golden and better than *Saturnian* age;
and every one promised himself that the
Throne would be establish'd to all ages,
and the peace of the Church restor'd for
ever, and the perfect tranquillity of the
B Nation

Nation would continue at least for several generations. For all the states of the kingdom vied with one another, to enlarge the King's authority, to guard against all the subterfuges and strong holds of rebellion, to abjure, and require all the people to abjure and renounce the Solemn League and Covenant, the bond and cement of the Presbyterian war. All the customs and duties upon foreign and domestick goods (from whence former rebellions sprung) were given to the King during life, by act of Parliament; the whole power of the militia was vested in the King alone, and the Church was reinstated in the fullness of its ancient jurisdiction. And lastly, all true loyalists rejoic'd that they had at length escap'd from the calamities of war, from forfeitures and sequestrations, and even from death itself: and the very Fanatics themselves were transported with unexpected joy, because they were permitted to live. What Throne could be more firmly establish'd, than that of a King that was restor'd with so great joy

of his subjects from a rebellion that was fresh in their memory? What Empire could be more free from the danger of civil, or rather of rebellious wars, (for there can be no war between the people of the same kingdom, wherein those that are against the King are not rebels to a man) than that of a King, upon whom all the states of the kingdom, and especially those who had contended with his Father for the supreme power, endeavour'd to heap all authority and power? Moreover, when the King himself had, with clemency almost unheard of, oblig'd his enemies, and bound them to him by an act of indemnity; when the people had too long felt all the miseries of rebellion; when there were neither pretences, nor leaders, nor followers (as we imagin'd) to raise seditions and tumults, what could we hope for, but almost an heavenly kingdom? Especially when capital punishment being inflicted upon the unnatural murderers of the best of Kings (tho' even of them as many were spar'd, as

repenting of their guilt surrendred themselves to the King's mercy) all the rest were permitted to enter into one society, or (as there ought to be between country-men and fellow-citizens) into one league of friendship. And that all fear and suspicion might be remov'd, every one's honour and property was confirm'd by Law. And that the entire remembrance of past animosities might be blotted out by eternal oblivion, the loyal subjects were strictly forbidden to upbraid the guilty with their former wickedness. And to give the rebels greater assurance of safety, not a few of them were receiv'd into the King's favour, into the highest offices of the Court, and the Kingdom, and even into the Privy Council.

But so ungrateful is the temper of rebels, that they return injuries for kindnesses, and like serpents sting and poison those that refresh them. For when they perceiv'd themselves reviving in the King's bosom, when they found that all their crimes were blotted out for ever,

by the Act of Oblivion, and all their possessions and riches gotten by the war, (which just before they would gladly have given up, provided they might have liv'd upon any terms,) were now granted to them, as if they were the rewards of their rebellion; they were presently so base and malevolent, as to disperse their poisons thro' the kingdom, and dart their stings into the very bosom of the King. And tho' for a long time they could avail nothing, yet there was no disappointment of their labours (how great soever) which could deter these wicked men from their unnatural endeavours against their country. And some that were but too happy, rag'd with such extravagant madness, that they car'd not, tho' their own houses perish'd in the flames, if they could but kindle a general conflagration.

But of these hereafter. There were others, who being stripp'd of all their fortunes, which they had gotten by rebellion and sacrilege, hop'd that they should recover their antient honour, if

they could again overturn the kingdom. There were four sorts of these men, the disbanded officers of *Cromwell's* army, the busy holders-forth of sedition, the members of the late Rump Parliament, and lastly, all sacrilegious persons, who had lost the plundered revenues of the Church and the Crown. These immediately entred into a separate combination opposite to kingly government, by a secret correspondence with each other. To carry on the interest of this confederacy, they held a great assembly at *London*, made up of a concourse of all these different sorts, which govern'd their inferior meetings in country towns and villages. By which correspondence, if they had gain'd nothing else, they certainly compass'd this main point, that they kept up a strict alliance between their several factions. And they were so compacted, and as it were glew'd together, that they seem'd to be not only united as partners and accomplices in the same conspiracy, but as members of one family. And they

they convers'd in their own country, like strangers, as the *Jews* that are exiles in every part of the world, and incorporated with none. They would allow of no society with the rest of the kingdom, no friendships, no intermarriages, no commerce but with themselves. No men nor maid-servants were admitted into their families, unless they would stipulate and bind themselves in the same holy bond. By this not only the old veteran rebels kept their ground, but their faction every where increas'd with a large accession of proselytes. And there was yet a more secret committee that presid'd over their affairs. This consisted of about sixty officers of *Cromwell's* army, who had their weekly cabals at *London*, and stil'd themselves the chief Council of the Nation, and therefore call'd each other by mutual names of affinity, after the manner of the King, who calls his Nobility of the Privy Council by the name of Cousins. And they govern'd the several provinces that were

under them with the same authority, as they had formerly govern'd their commonwealth. By their command officers were sent forth into their provinces to raise soldiers ; and spies dispatch'd to get intelligence, and carry on a correspondence with safety ; and seditious preachers establish'd in their proper stations. By which means it happen'd, that they attempted nothing separately, but whatever enterprize was undertaken, was done by order of their common council. For tho' various conspiracies broke out in different places, yet they were all guided by those counsels that were diffus'd and spread through every part of the King's dominions. All which was afterwards plainly discover'd, by the testimonies of their accomplices deliver'd in open court, by the confessions of persons convicted, and by intercepted letters.

The King had scarcely refresh'd himself after his long banishment, when they, giving neither him nor themselves any time to rest, began to raise the tide
of

of a civil war on every side. For where-
as he return'd but at the end of *May*,
they had every thing ready for war before
it was quite Midsummer. * The night
was appointed, in which they should seize
the towers of *London* and *Windsor*, the
two strongest defences of the King's
palace, and also rise in arms in the
western and northern counties. But when
all their designs were daily discover'd
to the King, he seasonably took their
principal leaders into custody. Amongst
these was *Holmes* a Collonel, who, twen-
ty five years after, was taken in *Mon-*
mouth's rebellion, and executed in the
eightieth year of his age. These con-
fess'd and begg'd pardon for their faults
before the King, and discover'd the ge-
neral conspiracy that was form'd to
turn the kingly government into a
commonwealth. And they who seem'd
to repent in earnest, admonish'd him to be-
ware of sudden risings every day, telling

* See the Chancellor's speech to the Parliament
Dec. 29, 1660.

him

him that the schismaticks would never be quiet; that as often as he cut off the heads of one rebellion, others would presently spring forth, as long as the fanatical *Hydra* surviv'd; and they would never want the will and inclination to rebel. And to give them their due, they neither deceiv'd themselves nor the King in this prophecy; for they sow'd new rebellions every year, and the King reap'd a new harvest of rebels.

But the head, and even the dictator of all conspiracies, was *Ludlow*; who, tho' driven into banishment, did yet govern all their counsels. Neither did they do any thing, but what he commanded: And this principally encreas'd the courage of the faction, that he promis'd to assist and support every rebellion. For he was a brave and warlike man, bold, and hot, not only a murderer of his King, but the most inveterate enemy of the royal cause: For he had bound himself by oath, never to make his peace with his King; and that he would not accept of it, if the King would

would voluntarily offer him his pardon and his favour, but would wage perpetual war with all tyrants (for so they call'd the royal line :) And though he fail'd in many, and great attempts, yet he continued to raise new commotions. Next to him was *Danvers*, a notorious Anabaptist in *Cromwell's* army, who goes on even to this day, heaping one villany upon another; and for a fresh instance of treason just now committed in *Monmouth's* rebellion, is either fled, or lurking in secret places, to save his neck from the halter.

In the next year (which was 1661.) 1661.
the 25th of *Jan.* broke out the madness of *Venner*, a *New-England* Cooper, at the head of a rabble of forty enthusiasts, which arose and expir'd almost the same day, within the city of *London*. I should have call'd them new monsters of fanaticism, had not *Africa* formerly brought forth its *Circumcellions*, and *Germany* in the last age swarm'd with *Anabaptists*. These having sprung from the dregs of *Crom-*
well's

well's rebellion, because they had first appear'd in war, believ'd themselves to be *the very life-guard* of King JESUS, who would in some time return to this world, to raise a fifth monarchy; and that therefore he had commanded them to prepare the way for him by slaughter and blood, and the destruction of the wicked; and that he would not be wanting to second their endeavours. Hereupon the mad rabble rush'd into every kind of danger, neither did they consider what they were able to do, but attempted whatever they thought of. Before they had put on arms, which they did in a secret conventicle, *Venner* made a sermon, making use of this sacred text, *One shall chase away ten, and ten shall put a thousand to flight*; which success he promis'd his followers, as a prophet sent down from heaven. In the libel in which they proclaim'd the causes of the war, they said, that their enemies would not dare to touch the hairs of their head; that they were chosen for this singular work of the Lord, and they would

would never sheath their swords till they had *made Babylon* (for so they call'd Monarchy) *an hissing and a curse*; and there should be none remaining; *nor son, nor grandson among all its people*. And when they had led captivity captive in *England*, they would carry their arms into foreign nations, *France*, and *Spain*, and *Germany*, and would call together their brethren thro' all countries, to assist them against *the Whore*: that they would make no truce nor peace with the monarchists, (for that was their word) but would always rise against the carnal *to possess the gate*, (therefore they us'd the word *gate* as their watch-word,) and *to bind their Kings in chains, and their Nobles in links of iron*. With these charms they were so taken, that forty villains doubted not but that they should easily vanquish, not only a great and populous city, but even the whole world; yet the fiercest of them died by the sword, and the rest at the gallows.

Hitherto these were not wars, but preludes of war, or rather the tumults and seditions

seditions of a few hot-brain'd men that could not be confin'd within due bounds. For the conspiracy was not lodg'd only with these few mad enthusiasts, but spread over the whole nation; neither did a week pass, as 'tis said, in which a plot against the King's life was not discover'd. Innumerable letters of fanaticks of every faction and county were intercepted, in which they exhorted one another to do the work of the Lord diligently.

In the county of *Devon*, in a vault dug in the house of one *Pearson*, a notorious villain amongst the fanaticks, a vast quantity of arms was found; and *Venner* had before gone round this part of the kingdom. Two hundred letters were also seiz'd that were entrusted with one of their messengers, to be deliver'd to their brethren at *London*, promising the greatest zeal in their cause. The same night in which *Venner* appear'd with his followers at *London*, it was observ'd by the inhabitants of *Lincolnshire*, that the Anabaptists rode about
that

OF HIS OWN TIME. 15

that county, as if some important affair was in agitation. And a letter came forth at the same time written by a certain Anabaptist nam'd *Millenex*, to one of the family of the Quakers nam'd *Jellico*, concerning a rebellion form'd at *Chester*, to this effect: " I wish thee
 " and thy friends well; we are all well.
 " See that thou be'st faithful to thy
 " friends. I tell thee we are grown
 " to a great number, to at least six
 " thousand. I would have thee know
 " this, that thou may'st impart it to the
 " rest of the brethren, that all of us may
 " meet together with force and arms
 " for the defence of the truth. We are
 " to meet at *Chester* the 24th of the
 " first month (*January*). Take care that
 " thou be'st mindful of that day. Nei-
 " ther do thou forget to be present
 " with thy brethren." The Quaker (as he ingenuously said) being struck with this audacious wickedness, discover'd the matter to the Mayor of *Chester*, and he to the Earl of *Derby*; who sending for the person that discover'd it, and enquiring

enquiring many things concerning the conspiracy, presently rais'd the militia in *Cheshire*, and the County Palatine of *Lancaster*, which his ancestors had govern'd for several ages. And the matter being also communicated to the Lieutenants of *Derbyshire*, *Staffordshire*, *Shropshire*, *Westmoreland*, *Cumberland*, and the West Riding of *Yorkshire*, and all their forces being therefore in a readiness, and *Cromwell's* officers being every where secur'd, they entirely quell'd the attempts of the faction in that part of the kingdom. But tho' this fire was happily extinguish'd, yet several sparks of it broke out in different places. Even *Wales* itself, that to this day had been unaccustom'd to rebellion, now first of all conceiv'd such dreadful monsters, and was astonish'd at the new and unusual birth. But fifteen of the officers of *Cromwell's* faction being taken, she has now freed her self from such strange prodigies. But altho' rebels in *Wales*, like vipers in *Ireland*, are kill'd by the very temper of the climate, yet in late times

times in our *England* they spawn almost every month, even oftner than toads, as if they sprung of themselves, or were begotten in the Presbyterian rebellion. For before the end of the year, on the 23^d of *Nov.* a meeting of veteran rebels was taken at *London*. Amongst these the principal were disbanded officers of the army, *Pecker, Streater, Weilks, Gladman, Heins, Litcott, Kenrick, and Read*, famous names amongst the *Cromwellians*, who being seasonably confin'd, the conspiracy died in the very birth, excepting that a little after, *John James*, a famous preacher amongst the Fanaticks, in his conventicle which he held in *White-Chapel-Street*, taught that the King, the Royal Family, and even all the Nobility ought to be kill'd; commended *Venner* and his followers, as martyrs, and exhorted his flock to expiate their blood by an impious parricide: which being attested by a multitude of witnesses, he was hang'd. But when they would not be at rest, though many were daily put in prison, all

the officers that had been in *Cromwell's* army were commanded to remove to twenty miles distance from *London*, and not to appear with arms; which unless they did, they were to be punish'd with imprisonment: which was also order'd at the same time by the Privy Council of *Ireland*, being urg'd by the same reasons. The eleventh day of *Dec.* the House of Commons in *England* deputed some of their members to wait on the King, with complaints, that they had receiv'd letters and messages from almost every county (for so we call our provinces) concerning a great, or rather an universal conspiracy against the kingdom, and to beseech him to defend the peace of the kingdom, as should seem best to his royal wisdom, against all the attempts of the rebels. And it pleas'd the King to return an answer to his Parliament, in which he shew'd them whence it arose, how it was discover'd, and how it was form'd: That there was a common conspiracy of all the factions; that their most important affairs were manag'd for that

that time by a secret Committee of twenty one, three of whom were chosen out of each of the factions; that their affairs were now a little at a stand, because he had confin'd some of their leaders, but in the mean time, the plot was laid so wide, that without their assistance he could hardly escape the danger. And the Parliament, when *Christmas* was at hand, when they always adjourn for the holydays, being alarm'd at the baseness of the conspiracy, appointed a Committee of both Houses, to lay open the whole villany, by the most plain and undoubted proofs.

In the beginning of the following ^{1662.} spring they laid the whole state of the matter before the Parliament; that now the conspirators were more closely confin'd, and many more taken, and amongst these the chief was *Salmon* one of *Cromwell's* Colonels, who had drawn up a list of a hundred and sixty officers; that all of them met at *London*, the tenth of the last *December*, and resolv'd with themselves to seize many cities

and towns, especially *Shrewsbury*, *Coventry*, and *Bristol*, before the end of *January*; that therefore the most illustrious Duke of *Albemarle* had sufficiently fortified these places with garrisons out of his troops; that they intended to begin their rebellion with a sudden massacre; that the fugitive regicides were at hand, upon the neighbouring coasts of *France* and *Holland*, ready to come over at a moment's warning; that the conspirators had openly boasted, that if the affair was once fortunately begun, they did not doubt of a happy issue; that the discovery of these things was made to the King, by one of their Council of twenty one; and lastly, that several tumults on all hands confirm'd the whole matter.

Both Houses being provok'd by this so great insolence of the rebels, presently obviated so many and great evils by four kinds of laws. Their first care was of the militia, as being of the most importance for keeping the peace in dangerous times. First they decreed that

that all the power of the militia ever had been, was, and should be in the King alone; and that it was not lawful for the States of the kingdom, upon any pretence whatsoever, no, not even in his Majesty's defence, to raise war against the King. Then they enacted, that by the Royal Authority soldiers might be rais'd in any county, city, or town, and that they should be commanded by whomsoever the King should appoint; that they should be paid, as often as there should be occasion, by the inhabitants of the county; that once every year all of the same county should rendezvous, and be exercis'd in their arms for four days; that the several companies once in three months should exercise their arms, that they might be always ready and prepar'd for war; that no officer or soldier should be list'd without taking this Oath, " That it is a detestable thing to resist the King upon any pretence, and that they abhorr'd that doctrine, as treasonable, that it is lawful to fight with the King's

“ authority against his person, or those
“ that are commission’d by him.” And
thus when the whole nation was every
where so well furnish’d with military
forces, if a conspiracy should be form’d
in any place, it might easily be suppress’d.

The military affairs being settled, their
next care was concerning the civil ma-
gistracy ; for whereas in *Cromwell’s* times
the rebels had taken all power in every
city and town into their own hands,
they being now ejected, others were
put into their places, neither were they
admitted, upon any other terms, but
first taking the aforesaid Oath, and ab-
juring the Covenant. And thus when
the most populous places were preserv’d
from the infection of disloyalty, out of
which the plague of sedition us’d to
spread into the villages, a stop was put
to all the licentiousness of sedition.
Moreover, they proceeded to check the
presumption of the press, whence in-
numerable libels were daily issued out
to stir up sedition. Hereupon by act of
Parliament all presses were taken away, ex-
cept

cept those which were set up by the public authority of the Stationer's company; and it was enacted that it should be unlawful to print any books, unless they were allow'd and approv'd of by the Bishops of *Canterbury*, or *London*, or the Vice-Chancellors of the two Universities; and if any printer should disobey this act, first of all he should be suspended from buying or selling of books for three years, and afterwards for ever. When by this law the great liberty of lying was taken away, which they more especially made use of at that time, with the most scandalous intemperance, the very engine of rebellion was broken: which tho' at all times it was fruitful of evils, yet in this age, it did not so properly bring forth, as swarm with a vast effusion of plagues. Amongst innumerable libels which they publish'd for two years together, those were most pregnant with sedition which they publish'd concerning prodigies. Amongst these all the prodigies in *Livy* were seen every day: Two suns; ships sailing in

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the air; a bloody rainbow; it rain'd stones; a lamb with two heads; cathedral Churches every where set on fire by lightning; an ox that spoke, a hen turn'd into a cock; a mule brought forth; five beautiful young men stood by the regicides while they suffered; a very bright star shone round their quarters that were stuck upon the city gates; a ghost was seen at *Oxford* dress'd in a Bishop's robes; two vast hogs came into the cathedral Church of *Canterbury* in prayer-time, which they said happen'd before in 1641. before the downfall of the hierarchy; a fanatick *Domine* of straw, that was made to be burnt in effigie, was not so much as touch'd by the flames; many priests reading the Common Prayer were seiz'd with sudden death; a certain person rejoicing at the execution of *Harrison* the regicide was strook with a sudden palsy; another inveighing against *Peters* as he went to the gibbet was torn and almost kill'd by his own tame favourite dog; a certain woman at *Chichester* brought

brought forth a child at her mouth, with an infinite number of such prodigious lies: For I feign nothing, for it wou'd be tedious to repeat the hundredth part of them. Nor did they only write these fables, but they also drew parallels with many judgments that had been sent down from heaven upon wicked men in former ages. Nor was this sufficient, for these blasphemous wretches in the Preface of their books, presume to call upon God the searcher of hearts, to bear Testimony to the truth of these fictions, and invoke all his curses, if they were guilty of falshood. Behold the impious and excessive madness of fanatical superstition, that their leaders should so confidently affirm these things, and the deluded populace should so eagerly swallow them! I, who was a young man at that time, do very well remember that these books were consulted and perused with no less diligence than the Scriptures themselves. There was no one of the faction who had not these books, and did not read them
with

with the deepest veneration. But the Law which I mention'd being seasonably pass'd, there were no more prodigies seen, no more miracles wrought, no more *Anni-mirabiles*, which was the title they prefix'd to their books. Lastly, (which yet was the Parliament's principal care) the two Houses proceeded to take care of the Church, and to re-instate it in its antient dignity. First the Clergy, by the King's writ, were summon'd to Convocation. The Convocation consists of an upper and lower House. In the upper, only Bishops sit; in the lower, Deans, Archdeacons, one Canon, or Prebendary of every cathedral Church, and two Proctors for the Clergy. These make Canons concerning ecclesiastical affairs, and then carry them to the King, and if he approves of them, they are afterwards laid before the Parliament, that what the Church has enacted by its spiritual power, may be inforc'd by the civil authority. Therefore the Convocation (for so we call the Synod of the Clergy) when it
had

had confirm'd every thing, as it was before, in the Church of *England*, only making some little alterations in the Liturgy according to the different circumstances of times, brought their Decrees and Canons to the King, Lords and Commons to be abetted with their authority. Hence arose that famous Law commonly call'd *the Act of Uniformity*. By which Law it was enacted, that all Clergymen should use only the Common Prayer in the publick worship; and unless they us'd it, they were to be depriv'd of all ecclesiastical benefices, before the feast of *St. Bartholomew*. Moreover, they were to abjure the solemn League and Covenant, and renounce it, as contrary to all the laws of God and nature and this kingdom. The consequence of which must be, either the Presbyterian ministers wou'd return into the peace and unity of the Church, and also abjure the bond, and as it were the sacrament of their treachery and rebellion; or else they must quit all their benefices in the Church, and all the opportunities

portunities of doing mischief. Hereupon there was a great confusion among the faction; they run backwards and forwards with hurry and consternation; they entered into a new association against this Law, promising themselves, that if all of them should refuse to comply, the Churches could not stand without them, preachers wou'd every where be wanting, and the people would on every hand beg for the repealing of the Law, lest through the scarcity of preachers, their souls should suffer a famine of the word of the Lord. But the greatest hopes of the faction depended upon their friends at Court; for they being admitted into the secret counsels of the King, and the highest offices of State, did only clog and obstruct the publick affairs, give a check to the Laws that were made against the factions, appear as advocates for their faults, and make it their chief endeavour to prevent the Church and State from settling upon their old legal foundations. For they found that if this design, which was so well begun, should

should be brought to perfection, they should sink into the deepest despair. Therefore they presently met together, and whisper'd into the ears of the King (whom they had experienc'd to be enough inclin'd to mercy, and indeed as it happen'd, too much for sparing them) that so great and powerful a body of men should not be rashly provok'd; that they were the greatest part of the nation, both for number and wealth; and that they did not refuse to comply with the antient conditions of uniformity; but if these new and unheard of obligations to abjure the holy Covenant were taken away, they would all, even to a man, flock to the Church of *England*; and lastly, unless there were speedy care taken to prevent it, there would be a general revolt of the people. Moreover there were humble petitions presented by the Presbyterian *London* preachers to this effect. " Having before experienc'd the clemency of your Royal Majesty towards your good people, we who have always shewn the strict-

“ est fidelity (*Good God!*) beg leave to
 “ represent, that unless you extend your
 “ royal mercy to us, we must be imme-
 “ diately put out of our sacred office, by
 “ the Act of Uniformity, because we
 “ cannot in conscience obey all things
 “ therein enjoyn’d: therefore falling at
 “ your sacred feet, we humbly beseech
 “ your Majesty, that thro’ your great
 “ wisdom and clemency, some means
 “ may be found, that we may not be
 “ depriv’d of the power of teaching your
 “ people their duty to God and your
 “ Majesty: And if it shall seem good
 “ to your princely mercy to grant this
 “ request, we doubt not, but that we
 “ shall shew, by our inviolable loyalty
 “ to your Majesty, and our peaceable
 “ behaviour in the Church, that we are
 “ not altogether unworthy of so great
 “ a favour.

When the King was in some measure
 mov’d with these petitions, they at length
 with difficulty obtain’d from him, that
 the matter should be suspended for a
 little time; and therefore, whereas the

Law

Law ought to be in force the next *Sunday*, they prevail'd to have the Council call'd but three days before, for the effecting their purpose, lest perhaps any one should unseasonably step in before the time to prevent their designs. Which yet unexpectedly happen'd through the prudence and fortitude of one man, namely, that great Prelate *Gilbert Sheldon*, then Bishop of *London*, afterwards Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*. For the Council being held, he came of his own accord, (for he was not yet call'd to the Privy Council) and pleaded for the Law, with that sharpness of wit, that copious eloquence, and that weight of reason, that he did not so much persuade as command the assent of the King, the Duke, the Council, and all that were present, and almost even the petitioners themselves to his opinion. He told them, that the suspension of the Law came almost too late, that by the command of that Law he had ejected all, who had not obey'd it in his Diocess, the *Sunday* before, by which he

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had

had so provok'd their anger and hatred, that if they were again restor'd, he should not live henceforward, in a society of Clergy, but in the jaws of his enemies; neither could he dare to contradict a Law that was pass'd with so great approbation of all good men, so general a consent of Parliament, and with so much deliberation. And farther, that if at that time so sacred a Law should be repeal'd, it would expose the lawgivers to the sport and scorn of the faction. And lastly, that the State and Church would never be free from disorders and disturbances, if factious men could extort whatever they desir'd, by their impudence and importunity. They that were present at the Council, being overcome by these and the like reasons, did with great alacrity and earnestness consent to the immediate execution of the Law. Whence it happily came to pass, that whereas there was but one day to intervene between the change of counsel and the event of the matter, almost all the Presbyterians, who fear'd no such thing,

thing, and on the contrary were joyfully secure, did, on a sudden, almost in the twinkling of an eye, perceive themselves defeated by one stroke; and turn'd out of their parishes, to their great surprize and astonishment.

By this seasonable interposition, the Bishop freed the Church of *England* from these plagues for many years. For thus it happened luckily, happily and prosperously, and indeed very providentially, that the Schismatics entangled themselves in their schism by covenant and agreement, entering into a new association, being deceiv'd by the large promises of the *London* teachers, that they would not obey the Law, and thence imagining that they should defend themselves by their multitude. And whereas the Courtiers would have persuaded the King, that there would be preachers wanting in the city of *London*, upon that *Sunday*; the very prudent Bishop of that Diocese, who had computed the number of the faction, had ready at hand an equal number of orthodox Di-

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vines,

vines, and those eloquent and learned, who, the sign given, did as it were come out of ambush, and take possession of the pulpits. And tho' from that time the Schismatics tried all their art that they might be received again into the bosom of the Church, yet he guarded every pass and avenue with such diligence, that when they saw their attempts so often baffled, they at length sat down, being no farther troublesome with their schism, than barely that they were Schismatics as long as he liv'd. For when, some years after this, they began to raise some new troubles in the Church, that only the obligation to renounce the covenant being repeal'd, they might have the liberty of returning into the Church, for that (they said) was the only bar to it; they were not without friends in both Houses, nor even amongst the Bishops themselves. And the King himself, by his royal authority, (as Emperors had formerly done) had not long since, in the straits and difficulties of the *Dutch* war, suspended the penalties of the Law,

Law, both that he might keep peace at home, and because he found that the factions had correspondence with the enemy abroad. To remedy which evil, he thought it most expedient to stroke them, for some time, to prevent their kicking: Whereby, many of both Houses were so incens'd, because they saw that the Law that was pass'd by them, was in effect repeal'd without their consent, that they chose rather to repeal it themselves, than see it lessen'd and maimed by any one else. Which opportunity happening, the Presbyterians, by the assistance of those friends, a great number of which they had in both Houses, immediately requir'd that the Law might be abrogated. But the new bill being drawn up, and every thing pertaining to the sanction of it being finish'd, the Archbishop affirm'd that lenity and mercy were always truly pleasing to all good men, especially if they could open the way to peace and concord; and that he would not dissent from the votes of others, if the Law being repeal'd, least

the supreme power shou'd seem to have parted with too much from itself, by yielding to them too far, they would but require such a stipulation and engagement for their future fidelity, as no good man could, or would refuse to give. And truly he propos'd nothing else but this, that they should confess that the war against King *Charles* the first was unlawful. Which he had hardly mention'd, when they presently dropp'd their petition for the bill, and were so deterr'd from the pursuit of their design, that, as if they had thrown away their arms, they never durst rally again. Thus is the Presbyterian interest sunk into the deepest despair, by losing the hope and liberty of rebelling! But when they found too late, that nothing was to be done by open measures, what they could not effect by authority, they studied to compass by fraud. Therefore they presently entred into a new conspiracy with some treacherous Divines in the *English* Church, men that lik'd nothing in the Church but its preferments, in

all other respects Fanaticks. These joyn-
ing forces within and without the walls,
cannot doubt but at length they shall
gain their ends, altho' it be the same con-
spiracy as had been tried before, and is
only dress'd up in a new form of words,
that it may take the better with the un-
wary. For now they were pleas'd to
call it a Comprehension, by which (for-
sooth) the Presbyterian rebels, all the
Laws being repeal'd, which at their will,
or rather by their command, they re-
quir'd to be cancell'd, might, together
with the sound members, be receiv'd in-
to the Church, and all ecclesiastical of-
fices. In this gang there were one or
two Bishops, a few Presbyters, with two
pragmatical Lawyers, who with great
gravity requir'd that this Law might pass;
as if they had had in their hands the
supreme power in Church and State.
The Archbishop, than whom no one
was more vigilant, or ready to find out
their treacherous stratagems, heard of
all their counsels from day to day; and
I my self have heard him publickly and

very sharply reproving them, according to his authority, for their audacious presumption, in that a Bishop or two, and a few Presbyters, should attempt to repeal the sacred Laws of the Church, without their Metropolitan, and a Synod of their Province. A crime, and indeed a schism, which was not to be expiated by any thing less in the primitive Church than perpetual Degradation! But the Archbishop being of a mild and generous disposition, threatned nothing, but only exhorted them friendly, to acquiesce a little, till they should obtain, or at least ask the consent of him and his brethren the Bishops. In the mean time he dealt mildly with their principal agents, that so, if possible, he might recover them to a better mind. I remember I was present when a certain Bishop solemnly promis'd entirely to quit this design, and attempt nothing farther; and yet the very same day, when there was a meeting held for carrying on this affair, to my knowledge, he went to the meeting, and labour'd the point as
much

much as he could. But when the Archbishop knew that the matter was completely form'd, he kept his knowledge of it to himself, and a few of his domesticks; but at length taking an opportunity of sending for me and another person, not a Bishop indeed, but one next in dignity to a Bishop, he accus'd us both equally, being a facetious Man, of having been amongst the Conspirators. What could I, tho' I knew my own innocence, but modestly, (as became me,) and yet boldly deny the charge? But the other was not content with a bare lie, but like *Peter*, when he denied his Lord, defended himself with a repeated denial of it, and affirm'd, that when some men tempted him to be there, he sharply admonish'd them to drop the design, till it could be refer'd to the Archbishop and Bishops in Convocation. But as soon as he was gone, the Archbishop smiling upon me, and excusing himself for his seeming reproof of me, said, " Now I have too

“ this man ; I can never wonder enough
“ at his impudence or stupidity, since
“ if he were not a mere stock, he must
“ have found from some particular ex-
“ pressions that I us’d, that all the coun-
“ sels of that meeting, in which he was
“ always present, and bore a principal
“ part, were fully discover’d to me.”

And from that time he drop’d his Friendship, as far as he could, with him and the rest of his associates. But they resolv’d the more diligently to go on with their scheme, and to carry it, when finish’d, into the lower House of Parliament. In the mean time, the Archbishop (who, as I said, knew all their measures) had so prepar’d the good Members of that House, that the very first day of their meeting, they resolv’d that if it was brought into the House, they would not pass it. And thus this pernicious design of a Comprehension perish’d ; which, if it had not died in the birth, would have brought the same evils and plagues upon the Church of *England*, as were brought into the Catholic

tholick Church in *Zeno's* time by his Henoticon.

But now, since I have had occasion to speak of so great a man, I cannot pass on, without giving a short account of the goodness of his disposition, the constancy of his virtue, and the sweetness of his temper. It was long in my thoughts to have drawn up a just history; and indeed I should have done it, if I could by any means have obtain'd the memoirs which he left concerning the actions of his own time. For as he came in due time to the management of publick affairs, being a man of great abilities, and was present at the most remarkable occurrences; so transacting every thing with a peculiar strength and penetration of judgment, without doubt the commentaries which he wrote upon all affairs were very excellent. In the mean time, since I cannot write a history, I cannot forbear but that I must recommend some character of so great a mind, and so famous an example of virtue, to the imitation of posterity. And that I
may

may begin with the chief virtue of a Bishop, he was a man of eminent piety; for tho' he was frequent and assiduous in prayers, yet he was not such an admirer of them, as some are, nor did he so much regard the bare worship, as the use that was made of it; and therefore he judiciously plac'd the sum of Religion in a good life. He used, in his daily discourse to his family and friends, to tell that they should take care not to deceive themselves by a half and imperfect Religion; that they should not think that all the service of God was confin'd within the cloisters and walls of the Church, but rather that a great part of it was conversant abroad in the world, and amongst societies of men. That if they liv'd justly, soberly, and chastly, then at length, and not before, they might think themselves pious: That otherwise it matter'd not of what Church or Religion wicked men were; and therefore he greatly delighted himself with this saying, and always spoke it with exultation, *Do well, and be merry.* For he
thought

thought it the only business and comfort of life, that the value of every thing depended upon That, and avail'd nothing without it. Therefore, next to Atheists and Fanaticks, he despis'd that disdainful sort of men who would have all the duty of man plac'd in the ceremonies and offices of worship, and because perhaps they are oftner at prayers than others, therefore think themselves better. He us'd to say that these men were not so pious as weak, not having judgment to discern what is right and what is wrong, what is good and what is evil: For that prayers indeed had great force and efficacy in them, as helping us to obtain the assisting grace of God, and cherishing a strong and lively reverence of God in our minds: But that even prayers were in vain, unless we proceed farther. That the Eucharist (which is the principal part of christian Worship) is indeed a Sacrament of the christian Law, and that this Law consists of offices of mutual charity and kindness, and that therefore he is the best

Christian, who is the most kind and charitable to mankind ; that the greatest charity is exercis'd by justice, for charity is due to all men, without which no society can subsist, and which preserves the peace and tranquillity of the whole world. That other virtues are but subservient to this, and that those great virtues, liberality and munificence, are but theft and rapine without it. And therefore he often used to admonish young Noblemen and Gentlemen (of whom a great many flock'd to him, by the command of their parents,) “ Take care (said he) to be good
“ and virtuous in the first place, and
“ then be as pious, and as much devoted to Religion as you will. No
“ piety can bring any advantage to you
“ or any one, without probity of life
“ and morals: For God gives no rewards
“ to idol-worshippers, neither can any
“ benefit arise from a barren piety. But
“ if men sincerely resolve with themselves first to lay the foundations of
“ Religion in a good life, that will
“ cause them to delight in the worship
“ of

“ of God, and their duty to men.” And if he could be provok’d at any thing, it was at the counterfeit devotion of wicked men, which he could hardly bear ; and he was wont to call them the disgrace of God and men. And he was greatly griev’d that in the whole course of his long life he had observ’d very bad men under the masque of humility, and the pretence of stricter piety, carrying on the secret designs of ambition ; of whom in general, he said, we ought to beware, as of so many thieves and cheats ; for he had not remembred above three or four, and those men of downright foolish simplicity, who have not, like thieves, carried off the preferments of the Church, under a cloak or cowl of Religion : Tho’ there was some comfort and satisfaction in it, that the same men had always strip’d themselves of their honours by their own imprudence : For whereas such little animals might have lain hid with honour ; when they crept up to a publick station, they did not so properly possess the height
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of dignity, as of publick shame and contempt: For not being accustom'd to the courtesy and civility of human life, they behave themselves so awkwardly, so morosely, and so insolently, as if they were lifted up on high, only to expose themselves to scorn and derision. But how much soever he hated and despis'd these counterfeits, both because they robb'd Religion of its honour, by their insincerity, and because they disturb'd the due moderation and equal balance of affairs, by their pragmatikal behaviour; yet if he met with any persons of true simplicity, and unfeign'd piety, who did in earnest devote themselves to the worship of God, and meditation upon heavenly things, it is scarce to be conceiv'd with what affection, with what friendship, and with what joy he embrac'd them: He revered them as Fathers, lov'd them as Brethren, and most familiarly convers'd with them as his intimate Friends.

Such good opinions of Religion concurring, with so good a disposition of nature,

nature, how large an increase of virtues must such excellent seeds, sown in so rich a soil, produce! Hence proceeded that even tranquillity of mind, through which, in both a prosperous and adverse fortune, he was always the same, and still like himself; being equally proof against the weapons of adversity, and the wiles of prosperity, and ever constant and regular; and one that had life at command, but not incontinent; he neither fear'd nor wish'd for death; liv'd pleasantly to himself, and to other men; neither did he place any other happiness in this present life, than that he could prudently bear, and even enjoy it, thro' the hopes of a better; for with that hope he accounted it pleasant and agreeable, but without it intolerable; and so he died with the same evenness of mind with which he liv'd; nor did he depart from his usual cheerfulness, which was supported by a good life, till his soul departed from his body.

From a tranquillity of mind, naturally arises courtesy and affability of behaviour;

viour; for he who pleases himself, delights to please others, and equally rejoices in his own and other mens happiness; therefore he was easy and free in his conversation with every one, never (if possible) let any one go disconcerted from him, unless it were by their unwillingness to leave him. He was both pleasant and grave amongst his domesticks, govern'd his Family both with authority and kindness; we all reverenc'd him, and none stood in fear of him; if at any time there was occasion for a severe rebuke (to which he seldom and unwillingly proceeded) his discourse was a mixture of a becoming gravity, and a Socratick sweetness. He would have his house always open for hospitality, and his table decently and elegantly cover'd, without luxury; whereunto illustrious persons resorted in great numbers, that they might enjoy the pleasure of his conversation, for he season'd all his entertainments with grave and facetious discourse, and spoke to each of his guests courteously and plea-

pleasantly, and all went away obliged with his singular humanity. It is not proper to enlarge any farther upon these lesser points of decorum in this great Man; but altho' perhaps they are not to be commended amongst the virtues, yet certainly they are the peculiar ornaments of the greatest men, and of no other. Neither indeed do I think it becomes me to labour in a more diligent description of his greater virtues. How small, how jejune, how trifling a commendation would it be, in speaking of a Prelate of such entire and generous piety, to say that he was just, and temperate, and modest, especially when *these are not so much the virtues of the Man, as the duties of the Bishop*; for in another man if these virtues are wanting 'tis shameful, but in a Clergyman they hardly deserve to be prais'd. Since therefore of such great men nothing but the highest part of character is to be dwelt upon, passing by the common and ordinary virtues, we shall speak only of his virtues that more immediately re-

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lated to the dignity and eminence of him as a publick person. All greatness of mind consists in three things, Wisdom, Magnanimity, and Munificence. The best of Kings, *Charles* the First, paid the greatest regard to his Wisdom; to whom as he was particularly dear, for his joint integrity and humanity, so in particular with respect to his singular Wisdom; he in a manner obtained the utmost familiarity of friendship: For he not only employ'd him, as several others, in publick affairs and embassies, from the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, when he first appear'd in publick business, but admitted him into his more secret counsels; and the better he knew him, so much the more he lov'd him. And whereas he himself had attain'd to maturity in wisdom, being taught by great and long calamities, he would chiefly make use of his counsel and conversation; and if he could but have him by his side, he seem'd to think it a softning and abatement of his miseries: And in his lowest and most desperate circumstances, when,
after

after the conference in the *Isle of Wight*, his Murder being resolv'd upon by the rebel officers, all his servants and friends were driven from his presence, the King at length, by importunate intreaties, prevail'd, that tho' the rest were driven from him, he might enjoy *Sheldon* alone, the space of one day; which day they prolong'd and continu'd till midnight, till he was removed from the King by military force. In which short time he entrusted his secret and last counsels in his bosom, especially commands to be deliver'd to his Son. Amongst many other excellent dictates of that great mind, I principally remember three, which I receiv'd from the Archbishop's own mouth.

First, That he should forgive his rebellious enemies as much as he would, but never trust one of them, unless he were willing to be ruin'd again.

Secondly, That he should keep his Exchequer as full as possible; for subjects would not dare to rebel against any but poor Princes.

Lastly, That, as far as it was in his power, he should expiate the sin of Sacrilege; and especially that he should be an example to his subjects, by restoring those revenues to the Church, which the impiety of former times had taken from it; which he himself had vow'd to do, if he ever recover'd his Crown.

But since I have spoken of the great love and affection of the good King to him, there is no occasion to speak any thing of his Magnanimity; for it shew'd a firm and invincible mind, to behold such a man, from whom he had receiv'd so great favours, so unworthily treated, and expos'd to scorn, by the refuse of mankind, and his blood not freeze in his veins with immoderate grief. Yet he bore the weight, and length of time in some measure render'd it easier to him; but he had that cheerfulness of temper, that I have often heard him profess, that nothing ever touch'd his heart, (for so he spoke, scarce refraining from tears) but only the misfortune of the King; and with that he was as it were

were thunder-struck, and did not for a long time recover any firmness of mind, but should, as long as he liv'd, feel the sharpest anguish, whenever he thought of it, how much soever he strove against it. Neither did he shew himself a man of less bravery and courage in encountering dangers, than in bearing adversity; for he was almost a Privy Counsellor to King *Charles* the Second, even while he was in exile; he managed chiefly the King's affairs which were to be transacted at home, and was concern'd in almost every prudent design against the tyrannical usurpers, but was principally concern'd in collecting the King's monies, and sent him yearly so large a sum, that indeed he seem'd to be his Treasurer.

Lastly, as to his Munificence, I should be impertinent, if I were to relate every instance of that virtue in him: It may suffice to compute his expences in general; and, to pass by what he did in a private fortune, in which however he retriev'd the estate of the family (which

was in a manner spent by his elder brother) in behalf of the children of the deceas'd; after he was rais'd to the Episcopal Throne, in which he sat seventeen years, he spent seventy three thousand pounds in works of Munificence and Charity; and yet was so wonderfully prudent in the conduct of his affairs, that after he had laid out so much he left great possessions, and a large quantity of money to his heirs, and also gave by legacy to all his servants, whose number was not a little one, rich stipends, as long as they should live.

Thus have I erected this small monument to the memory of so great a Man, intending to raise a larger, and one more worthy of him hereafter. In the mean time, I have in some measure satisfied my grateful remembrance of him: Altho' I shall say more (if it please God) in the sequel of these Annals, for he liv'd till 1677. at which time being eighty years old, he died too soon, and even to the great loss of the Church
and

and Kingdom. But I shall take care (if God gives me life) to let posterity know how the affairs of the Church stood at, and after the time of his death. But now to return to the course of our Annals, from whence the pleasing idea of this illustrious Prelate diverted me, which I am yet unwilling to part with.

Whilst the States of the kingdom are careful of the publick peace, and imagine that they have defeated all the attempts of the Rebels; at the very same time (such was the confidence of the men) they form'd a design of an universal rebellion throughout the nation. Almost at the same time their great assembly (which I formerly mention'd) met at *London*, which alone manag'd their chief affairs. Under these, a lesser assembly, of six persons, acted; one of every Faction; for there were six Factions, Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, Quakers, Fifth Monarchy Men, and Levellers. And that the matter might be more secretly carried on by the consent of all, this council of six receiv'd their

instructions from the supreme council; neither did any of the Conspirators besides know what this assembly was. Lastly, these sent their military officers whithersoever they pleas'd. They had their messengers and spies in every county. They in the mean while were planted in uncertain places, never twice in the same. Neither would they have any partakers of their counsels, nor treat with any but their own emissaries. So that whereas they had all of them accomplices of every Faction, yet there were none let into the secrets of their designs but themselves. They warily guarded themselves against being betray'd, so that if by chance any discovery should break out, it should spread no farther; and when the Conspiracy was diffus'd thro' all the provinces of the kingdom, yet no body knew who was the author of it. For the spies dealt separately with only their military officers, and did not know one another, that if any one of them was accidentally taken, he could accuse no one beyond

yond his own sphere and county. Hence there was a great report spread on all hands concerning a Rebellion; letters were sent concerning it from every county to the prime ministers; and so great a consternation had seiz'd the minds of the citizens of *London*, that almost all that summer the train'd-bands kept watch in the city, and guards at the walls and before the gates. There was a great and general consternation; but all alike wondred what were the grounds of it. But at length some of the Conspirators being taken at *London*, on the 15th of *October*, it was discover'd what the Conspiracy was. Neither yet could the persons that confess'd, discover any but their associates in the same band, of whom part lay conceal'd, part were taken; and of these some suffer'd as Rebels, according to law, others begging pardon, the royal Clemency spar'd them as usually. The heads of the Conspiracy were *Ludlow, Danvers, Lockier, Strange*, and other veteran officers of *Cromwell's* army. But these escap'd, either by flight

or

or concealment. Therefore altho' the Conspiracy was known, yet it was not broken or dispers'd, but the Conspirators, with daily-increasing strength, carried on a violent and unnatural war, for more than twenty years.

But since their engine of treachery was now first compleated, I must tell you with what fraud, with what villany, with what lying, they would, if possible, have compass'd their point. And indeed they had but one stratagem for every thing, namely, that old one, that whenever their hearts are big with any mischief, they endeavour to raise tragical expectations of Popish assassins, and of a design to massacre all the Protestants. For thus their story was laid. For when at length they had conspir'd to rise in arms on the last day of *October*, under *Ludlow* the General, who had promis'd to be present, by these fictitious letters; they spread a report concerning a massacre to be put in execution by the Papists on that very day. Their letter ran thus:

SIR,

SIR,

THrough my regard to the friendship between us, and my common affection to all Protestants in general, this to inform you, that about a fortnight agoe, a woman well known to us, but not yet to be nam'd to you, was privately told by a certain Popish Conspirator, that they should all take arms, of which they had a great number, upon the last day of October. Wherefore we thought it our duty to our friends, to give them notice, with as much caution as we could, what great danger they are in, that they might by all possible means defend their Religion, King, Country, Themselves, and Families. Take care that you do not suspect that you are impos'd on by any trick or lie: I call God Almighty to witness to the religious truth of this narration. Neither is it a private report, but the thing was declared upon oath, before a Justice of peace, and communicated by him to the Privy Council. But what the issue was I have not yet heard. Look to your
selves,

selves, and if you can make any discovery, impart it to us.

Yours.

They sent abroad these letters to their friends in every county, by their several emissaries; so that the Papists in several places, especially in the counties of *Worcester* and *Warwick*, were taken into custody. And in the city of *London*, they had five thousand copies ready to disperse in every street, just before their attempt. But when part of the Conspiracy was discover'd so soon, it for some time check'd the whole: Several were taken, amongst whom, the chief were, *Tongue*, an old *Cromwellian* Officer, and *Rigs*, a Presbyterian Teacher, formerly Chaplain to *Blake*, the Admiral of the Rebels fleet, but now clerk to a brewer. He being taken, to save his own life, laid open the whole villany, and, according to the innate treachery of the Presbyterian Evangelists, accus'd his accomplices, whom he had first corrupted. But the proofs of the Conspiracy

racy were so very plain, that the persons accus'd, tho' some, as it was but reasonable they shou'd, endeavour'd to defend their innocence; yet when they saw that they should be condemned, they voluntarily accus'd themselves, and in the very article of death, every one of them, in their speeches which they made to the people, ingenuously confess'd themselves guilty of Rebellion. These were six, *Tongue, Philips, Stubbs, Baker,* and the two *Gibbs* that were brothers. But one of the prisoners nam'd *Hind*, when brought to the bar, did not think fit to stand his tryal, but pleading guilty, commended himself to the King's mercy. Amongst many other villanies which they had resolv'd upon, they first of all resolv'd to kill the King; entring into a joint resolution, that they would treat him no otherwise, than he would treat *Ludlow*, if he should take him. These were the very words of the conspiracy. But it happen'd, that that very summer the Queen Mother resided at *Greenwich*, whom when her Son often us'd to visit,

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they chose a convenient place near *Camberwell*, where the Assassins should lie in ambush, and take him. But the Queen going thence to *London* unexpectedly, and sooner than she had resolv'd with her self to go, by the haste she made she preserved the life of her Son : Which the Conspirators themselves openly confess'd. They declar'd this to be the cause of the war, that they were to fight against Popery and Tyranny, in defence of their sacred and civil Liberties. And thus they determin'd to govern their new Commonwealth : First, they would recall their old regicide Parliament. Secondly, they would join a full number of members to that Rump. Thirdly, they would choose no man that had not shewn himself faithful to the *Good Old Cause*, (for so they call'd their own.) Fourthly, every Parliament should last but a year. Fifthly, they would exercise no power in religious matters, or over the consciences of men. Sixthly, it should be high treason for any one to endeavour to restore the King, house
of

of Lords, or the government of any single Person. Seventhly, no salaries should be granted out of the publick Treasury. Eighthly, as long as they behaved themselves well, it should be high Treason not to obey them.

Without doubt it must have been a lasting Republick, which was to continue as long as it pleas'd a fanatick multitude, and no longer. Such was the emulation between the two factions, that they found it was a very difficult matter, to bring the divided minds of the Presbyterians and Independents into their pristine concord. But when that was done, all the lesser sects, which dregs were the spawn of their corruption, were ever in a readiness. But now the friendship of the brethren being renew'd, the old Republick seem'd to be as it were restor'd; nor did they afterwards question, but that they should obtain the supreme Power. These things I collected out of the proceedings of the Court, which were at that time publish'd, almost word for word.

1663. In the beginning of the following spring, the King, being both terrified with such frequent and formidable Conspiracies, and prevail'd upon by the artifices and treachery of some about him, publish'd a Proclamation, for suspending in part the Act of Uniformity; and, provided the Schismaticks would be peaceable for the time to come, he granted them liberty of conscience, so long as they behaved themselves well. Which being communicated by him to the Parliament, that by their permission also, the Indulgence (as they call'd it) to tender consciences might be confirm'd; they with great zeal oppos'd it, and defended the Law as their Palladium and chief security. They hastned to the King, and begg'd and press'd him, that he would not lessen his own authority so much as to indulge factious men, who under the masque of conscience meditate nothing but Rebellion. For if the force and authority of that Law was once at an end, there would hereafter be no fence against Atheists and wicked
men;

men; the discipline of the Church could no longer stand, and its censures would be despis'd. Neither did it become the prudence and gravity of the Parliament, to repeal, without cause, this year, a Law which they had pass'd but the year before; and the King's peace would be only more and more disturbed; for if he would suffer himself to be overcome by these people's importunity, they would be baiting him with their importunities for ever, and innumerable new Heresies would be the consequence of that dishonourable liberty; neither would there be any end of fanatick fury: That the Church it self would become desolate: And lastly, it was not Indulgence which the Schismatics desir'd, but Empire: And as soon as they should find their numbers strong enough, they wou'd invade the Government with open Force. The King yielded to their importunity for a time, but could never be prevail'd upon to change his opinion, till by the sad event of things, and the insolent rebellion of the Schismatics, he found that

the Parliament were not only faithful in their counsel, but right in their predictions, as if they had been a prophetick College.

The Parliament rising on the 3d of *August*, after they had granted the King a subsidy, the Factions pursue the forming of their Rebellion; a thousand arms being bought in *Holland* by one *Cole* (who had been in every Conspiracy) were brought over into *England*; libels were dispers'd amongst the common people; in one of these they taught that it was lawful for the people to kill their Kings; that the Law of God did not exempt the person of the King from the two-edged sword, which he had put into the hands of his saints to be drawn against the ungodly of whatsoever quality and condition: That now, if ever, the time was come for the people of the Lords to sell their garments, and buy them swords: That the Tyrant (meaning the King) whatsoever authority he has, he has it wholly from the people: That we are not servants of the Tyrant,
but

but that he ought to serve us; and therefore since he had shewn himself unworthy of his office, it was but just he should be depos'd. In another, they asserted that *Charles* the First was justly beheaded: That *Penry*, *Barrow*, and others of the Puritan Faction formerly executed, were wickedly slain; because they had freely given testimony, according to their duty, against the tyranny and superstition of the Prelates. And lastly, they recommended the example of *Ehud's* killing King *Eglon*, to the imitation of the saints of this age. But nothing more vehemently mov'd the people, than whole volumes of sermons publish'd, which the ejected Ministers had preach'd as their farewell sermons, before the feast of St. *Bartholomew*. Great was the sale of these books, being strong scented with sedition: And the people of every parish out of which any were ejected, were inflam'd with such anger and hatred, that they pursued those that turn'd them out, with a warmth and violence like that of him, that in times of old

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had

had his idols taken from him. By these fraudulent practices, they kept up such aversion in the minds of the people to the King's Government, that they thought themselves sure, that when the matter came to blows they should never want volunteers.

Whilst these things were transacted in *England*, the same affair went forward in *Ireland*.

On the 25th of *January*, 1662, one *Philip Alden* made a voluntary discovery of a Conspiracy to subvert the Government in all the three Kingdoms; and this he made to *Vernon* a military Officer of the King's, and a man of entire fidelity to the King. This *Alden* had been an old Rebel, a dealer in proscriptions and forfeited estates, and a leading enemy of the Royal Cause. But *Vernon* had so oblig'd him, by begging his life of the Lord Lieutenant, that as a return for that kindness, he promis'd that if ever he could discover any wicked design of the Rebels against the King, he would communicate it to him: For he made a figure in their

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Counfels, and *Ludlow* committed the *Irish* affairs to his trust, fo as no one exceeded him in authority among the Rebels. He therefore, the Conspiracy being brought to some maturity, ingenuously confess'd it all to *Vernon*, that there was a secret committee of Conspirators that sat daily in the city of *Dublin*; that they treated of all matters amongst themselves, list'd men into their Conspiracy, declared the causes of the War, and assign'd every officer his post in the Army. These were six in number, beside the informer: *Shapcott* a Colonel, partly a Lawyer, partly a Soldier, a pernicious creature with his tongue, as well as his teeth; *Warren* and *Thomson* Lieutenant Colonels, *Sanford* a Captain, *Blood* a Lieutenant, and *Bond* a *Scotch* Merchant, *Vernon* soon imparted the discovery to the Lord Lieutenant, the most illustrious Duke of *Ormond*, to whom he was very dear. The Lord Lieutenant sent for the discoverer to him, who laid open the whole matter; and being induc'd by promises, assures him that he

- will discover every step of the Conspiracy as they should proceed. In the month of *March*, the leaders of their Army were chosen, troops made up out of their meetings, which they had now very frequent, Forces were quarter'd through all *Ireland*, and Correspondencies were successfully carried on in *England*, *Scotland* and *Holland*. All things being thus made ready to their minds, the next year, which was 1663, they resolve to open the war on the 11th of *May*, with the siege of the castle of *Dublin*. The Lord Lieutenant, who knew the whole matter, had a great number of soldiers there in a readiness, who were commanded by his three sons, men of the greatest bravery. These so disposed their men upon the walls, as not so much to drive away, as to take the enemy. But *Blood*, and one *Chambers*, who were sent by the Conspirators as spies by night, when they saw every place so well fenc'd and guarded, being affrighted, they hast'ned to tell the Committee that they were betray'd.

And

And they, not doubting that a discovery was made, presently dispers'd themselves, waiting for another more convenient Day. But the Lord Lieutenant had so plac'd watches that he had taken some of their Leaders within the walls, who afterwards, being tried and condemn'd for Treason, were hang'd. Amongst these were *Warren* and *Jephson*, Colonels, and at the same time members of the *Irish* Parliament. Besides these, nine others of the same Assembly, being found guilty of the same crime, were, two years after, the Parliament being prorogued to that time, sent into banishment by Act of Parliament; and *Thomson* an Officer, and *Lackey* a Presbyterian Teacher, were hang'd. But though he alone of all their Teachers was taken, yet he had seven more brethren, associates and partners in this wicked Conspiracy: The names of these were *Cox*, *Chambers*, *Hart*, *Cormack*, *Bains*, *King*, and *Charnock*. This *Charnock* had been Chaplain to *Henry Cromwell*, advanc'd to that dignity by the recommendation

of *John Owen*; he was sent by the Conspirators as their agent to *London*, and promis'd them great assistance there; as *Gibbs*, *Car*, and others had done in *Scotland* and *Holland*. But the Conspiracy being now discover'd, he again fled into *England*, and changing the name of *Charnock* into *Clark*, he exercis'd great authority at *London* amongst the Fanaticks, and long presid'd in a large Conventicle; for he did not die till two years after, *anno 1683*. and they carried his body through the city to be interr'd with the pomp of a royal funeral.

They declar'd the causes of the war to be, That the King had abus'd their patience; that neglecting the Protestants, by whose only help he was restor'd to his Kingdoms, he had encourag'd only Popish Assassins: That he had taken the estates which the Protestants (that is *Cromwell's* Rebels) had merited by such dangers and labours, and given them to the Papists: That is, the King had restor'd to the lawful owners, men of entire fidelity to him, those estates which

Cromwell had given as rewards to his Soldiers, out of the patrimony of Papists that had stood by the King, and who had not only approved themselves Gentlemen of firm fidelity to his Majesty, but were indeed the right Owners: And that he had converted a great Tax that had been rais'd to pay the old Soldiers, to the advantage of the Papists: And lastly, that the Lord Lieutenant had committed the same offence, held secret correspondence with Papists, and appear'd in their behalf in every judgment against the Protestants. By which (say they) we know what is decreed against us, and therefore let us defend our Country, our Wives and our Children from excision. And as of old, the people of *Israel* laid violent hands upon *Saul*, tho' he were a King, when he threatned death to *Jonathan*, an innocent man, adjuring him by the immortal God, that he should not die that day; so we doubt not but all purer Protestants will take arms with us in so good a cause. Therefore we proclaim Liberty of Conscience to

to every one; by which alone we know the Protestant Religion can be establish'd : We will restore to every one his Possessions which he possess'd before the King's Return ; and we promise to give the Army their full pay. To perform which, (for so they conclude) we doubt not but the Lord of Hosts, the Almighty God of *Jacob*, will stretch forth his assisting hand.

The witnesses of this Conspiracy were, besides this informer, *Sanford*, one also of their secret Committee, *Tanner*, *Scot*, *Foukes*, appointed Officers in the Army, who being taken, made the same discovery as the other before had done. But there was a more considerable Witness than all these, Sir *Theophilus Jones* ; for whereas they had deliberated chiefly upon three things ; First, whether they should kill the King ? Secondly, whether they should kill the Duke of *Ormond* ? And lastly, whether they should set a General, or a Council of Officers over the Army ? The two former they resolv'd upon, having consulted the *Scotch* Presby-

Presbyterians by *Cormack* their emissary : And as to the third, they resolv'd not to set one, but several over the Army. And they chose *Ludlow*, *Mazarene*, Baron *Audley Mervin* Knight, *Edward Massey* Knight, *Richard Ingoldsby* Knight, *Harry Cromwell*, *John Skeffinton* Knight, Colonel *Carr* and *Theophilus Jones* K^t. But he being nearer to their Affairs than the rest, and a brave and experienc'd Officer, and of great interest among the Soldiers, they resolv'd to try him first, which was done by *Jephson*. He pretended to promise secrecy and assistance, ; when in the mean time being weary of his old Rebellion, he return'd to his Duty, and without delay he discover'd to the Lord Lieutenant all the measures of the Conspiracy which he had learn'd from *Jephson* ; and these agreeing so well with *Alden's* confessions, gave undoubted proof of the whole design. But the Discoverer himself, that the discovery might be the better conceal'd, was thrown into prison along with the rest ; from whence it was pretended that he made his escape ;

escape; tho' in truth he was privately sent by the Lord Lieutenant into *England* to the King, and out-law'd for this pretended escape.

The King embrac'd the man, and bade him go on, and still make one in the Councils of the Rebels. Accordingly, he was present at all; neither did he conceal any thing from the King. He held a close correspondence with *Ludlow* by letters, sent all his letters to the King, and discover'd whatsoever was transacted at home: So that the King had all the Conspirators as it were shut up in a siege; by which means all their projects came to nothing. He perform'd this service with great fidelity, even to the year 1666, when being taken amongst other suspected persons, by some body that was either weak, or ignorant of this contrivance, and some letters from the Duke of *Ormond's* servants, directed to him, being imprudently publish'd, he began to be suspected amongst his party. Therefore he lost all credit and commerce with them, and from that time quitted the

the part he was to act, and retir'd to a private life. Among the Conspirators was *Thomas Walcott*, an old Captain, the same that, twenty years after, in 1683, was appointed chief of that desperate Conspiracy, in which they intended to murder the King and the Duke of *York*, in their journey from *Newmarket* to *London*: But the villany being discover'd, he was taken, condemn'd and hang'd; and he and his accomplices freely confess'd the whole at the gallows. In his last words, in a threatening manner, he advised the King to take care of himself, for that the Conspiracy was laid so wide, and so close, thro' all the three Kingdoms, that if he had a desire to be safe, he must make peace and friendship with the Fanaticks; otherwise he and his dearest Brother would some time or other fall by their swords.

The same year, 1663, a wider flame of the same Conspiracy broke out in *England*, which, if it had not been taken in time and extinguish'd, would suddenly have spread throughout the Nation.

tion. For had not a part of the Conspiracy in the Northern Counties broke out into action before the time appointed, there is no doubt but the whole wou'd have appeared in a sudden blaze at once; for the Assembly at *London* had chosen the 12th of *October*, as the day upon which they should all at one hour stand to their arms: But when they could not get every thing ready at *London* at the appointed time (as it commonly happens) they deferr'd the matter twelve days longer. But the zeal of the Northern men could not refrain it self so long, but some of them, on the day first appointed, appear'd in arms, in a place call'd *Farnly Grove*, near the town of *Leeds*, rich in woollen manufacture, in the West Riding of *Yorkshire*. These being presently routed and taken, made a discovery of the whole Conspiracy; tho' the King indeed had them before, as it were in a net, as shall be told hereafter. The leader of the Conspirators was *Thomas Oats*, a Captain. The chief of the Witnesses who discover'd their accom-

accomplices, were his two sons, *Ralph Oats*, Master of Arts, and his younger brother *Samuel*, a name in which Rebels and Informers seem'd to have an extraordinary share. They would have given in evidence upon oath against their own father, had not the Judges forbid it. Though indeed the thing was so plain without Witnesses, that *Oats* the father durst not venture himself upon his trial, but confessing his crime, implored the King's mercy. I am afraid the Libel in which they declar'd the causes of the war, is lost; but, as was proved by the several Witnesses, it was made up of these articles, whereby all parties of Schismatics might be more easily drawn into their cause. The first, which was in favour of the Presbyterians, was for restoring the authority of the old Rebel-Parliament. The next was for restoring the ejected Ministers. And then, that all of them might be sooth'd at once, Liberty of Conscience was to be allow'd to every one; Tithes and Taxes were to be taken off: And lastly, all the an-

tient Liberties of their Country, that had been violated by the long tyranny of Kings, were to be renew'd by force of arms. And, to say all in a word, all the Fanaticks were for different reasons, but with one consent, to wage war incessantly against the present state of affairs under kingly Government.

And therefore the chief contrivers of this Conspiracy were some Presbyterians that were ejected on that sad day of *St. Bartholomew*; more especially *Richardson*, a Doctor of Divinity, Dean of *Rippon*, a man infamous for drunkenness, lewdness, and all manner of debauchery; and *Marsden*, formerly Chaplain to *Overton*, an Anabaptist Colonel, Governor of *Hull*. *Richardson* manag'd all affairs in the Country; *Marsden* was for the most part their agent with the Assembly at *London*, that he might send their commands to the lesser meetings in the country, which they always proclaim'd in their Conventicles. Both of them, the Conspiracy being discover'd, were proscib'd. *Richardson* died in
exile;

exile; *Marsden* changing his name to *Ralphson*, liv'd twenty years safe at *London*, and had a large Conventicle under his care; for he did not die till 1683. To these were join'd other Schismatics of the same condition in other places. *Fisher* lately of *Sheffield*, a place famous for iron-work, promis'd a great number of those artificers; as did *Harmatage*, ejected out of *Holbec*. *Stedd* a *Scot*, who had been thrown out of a Parish in *Devonshire*, held the office of a Legate and Nuncio between the *English* Fanatics and his own countrymen.

But the most active of all in the affair, was one *Atkinson*, a travelling Pedlar, who in his little shop that hung at his back, carried letters through all parts of the Kingdom with incredible expedition. They had also officers on every side, who might in a moment head their Soldiers, as it were in their proper Quarters, in the nearest county of *Nottingham*, Bishoprick of *Durham* and *Lancashire*. But those in whom they plac'd their chief confidence and hopes, fail'd

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them most. *Smithson*, formerly Lieutenant Colonel to *Lilburn*, and *Great-head*, Lieutenant Colonel to *Lambert*, were the one appointed General of the *North*, the other of the *West Riding of Yorkshire*. But these truly voluntarily discover'd the whole matter at *Tork*. By which discovery they lost all opportunity of meeting together; so that when *Oats* had hid a few of his men in the wood at night, they had scarce separated at break of day, before most of them were carried off from their march into prison. So happy was the end of so dangerous a Conspiracy. But indeed the King was beforehand with them in knowing all their counsels; for thus he speaks to both Houses, in a speech which he made to his Parliament, the year after, on the 21st of *March*.

“ By the late northern rebellion you
 “ find, that our old enemies whom we
 “ have so mercifully spar'd, have by
 “ no means laid aside their antient ha-
 “ tred. But you have not yet search'd
 “ to

“ to the bottom of that villany. Be-
“ lieve me, it is but a little part of the
“ conspiracy that is found out, it being
“ the offspring of that former one,
“ which I discover’d to you two years
“ ago; and which daily increases and
“ spreads into all parts. But all their
“ counsels are known to me; and in-
“ deed if I had not first known the
“ hour, and the several places of their
“ meetings in the *North*, and had not
“ daily disappointed them, not only by
“ the Militia, but my own Guards, they
“ would soon have appear’d openly in
“ great numbers in the field.

“ Nor do you think that the punish-
“ ment of a few has put a stop to it,
“ but at the very same time that they see
“ their accomplices going to the place
“ of execution, they are pursuing the
“ same wicked measures. I certainly
“ know that they have correspondence
“ with all desperate abandon’d men in
“ every county, and a great assembly in
“ this city, by whose advice all things
“ are transacted in the country; and by

“ their command they luckily deferr’d
“ their last design ; for when by their
“ ill conduct the Conspiracy was broken
“ and divided, it naturally came to no-
“ thing. I am nearer to all their coun-
“ fels than they, with all their cunning,
“ suspect, and I hope I shall shortly ac-
“ quaint you with all their villany. In
“ the mean time let us all watch with
“ greater diligence for the safety of the
“ Kingdom, than they do for its de-
“ struction.

Hence it appears, from the testimony of the King himself, who had seen thro’ the whole design, what was the state of affairs in those times: That they never had, and never would make peace with him ; that the war they waged, was to be a perpetual one, and no arms to be laid down, but in the destruction of the one or the other, or perhaps of both, as it commonly happens. For at the same time that these things were done in the *North*, they incited the people to Rebellion by infamous Libels :
For

For whereas the 12th of *October* was the day appointed for taking arms, four days before, some papers hastning thro' the press, and almost finish'd, were seiz'd. In these the horrid murder of King *Charles* the first was justify'd and extoll'd. They affirm'd that there had not been so glorious and pious a work done since the times of the Apostles; that the holy Martyrs leaving Heaven would be willing to suffer again for so good a cause; that no pious man upon earth would decline it; that they were to be accurs'd who would not come to its assistance; that the City, Town or Country that would not join in it, would perish by divine Vengeance, and the like. Four Printers were taken; one of these, whose name was *Twine*, was hang'd; three others being cast into prison, two of them died of grief and anguish of mind, and their funerals were attended with a train of followers, at least three thousand men.

In the beginning of the following 1664. year, which was 1664, a war was re- 1665.

solved upon against the *Dutch*, by the unanimous consent of both Houses, on the 26th of *May*. For whereas they had with great contempt and insolence committed great violences and piracies upon the *English* merchants for a long time; they added the summer before publick, and perhaps unheard of treachery to those private injuries. For when the *English* and *Dutch*, at the request of the latter, sent their confederate Fleets against the *Algerine* Rovers, whilst *Lawson*, the Admiral of the King's Fleet, with equal fidelity and bravery pursued the enemy; *Reuter*, the Admiral of the *Dutch* Fleet, by the command of the States, sheer'd by stealth to the Coasts of *Guinea*, and without any war declared, attack'd the *English* that were scatter'd and dispers'd upon the coast. By which villany the anger and indignation of the *English* Nation was so provok'd, that they never before concurr'd, with so general and unanimous a spirit, as now, to revenge this treachery. However, a year was spent in the preparations for war,

war, and in the demands of a just peace, if it were possible to be obtain'd. But when the King's Embassadors had receiv'd nothing but scorn and reproaches, in the beginning of the following spring, on the 22d of *May*, the King's Fleet sail'd out of port for the war; of the event of which we shall speak under the next year. In the mean time the Schismatics, when they found the King involv'd in so great a war, were animated, and lifted up themselves with more than usual boldness. And on the other hand, the King and Parliament having now sufficiently experienc'd the impudence and spirit of their faction, resolv'd to check and curb their insolence by stricter laws; lest being engag'd in a foreign war, they might be disturb'd by intestine tumults. For the resolution of Parliament was hardly pass'd against the *Dutch*, when forthwith complaints were daily brought to the Parliament from every part of the kingdom, of outrageous and tumultuary commotions of the Fanatics. Hereupon the old Act of

Queen *Elizabeth*, made in the 35th of her Reign, against Conventicles, was now reviv'd and enlarg'd.

For the first offence, the Schismatics were fin'd five pounds; for the second, ten; for the third, they were to be punish'd with banishment; and if they return'd without leave, with death. And in the next place, by the King's Proclamation, all the *Cromwellian* Officers were order'd to depart twenty miles from *London*. And the Justices and Deputy Lieutenants in the several counties, being animated by the example of the King and Parliament, dispers'd their meetings in cities and towns every where. Which when the Schismatics saw done in earnest, most of them easily gave way: The Quakers alone stood out, because scarce any thing was so fundamental a piece of Religion with them, as non-submission to human authority: Therefore they met the oftner, because they were forbid to do so; nor could they be separated by any force, till a merry fellow thought of this stratagem: He proclaim'd
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in the King's name, that no one should depart without leave. Which he had scarcely done, when they all went about their business, for fear of obeying man. Nor did they long stand out; for when they found that their friends were daily taken, and sent into banishment, and carried away into the *English* Plantations in *America*, and that they could not return without danger of death; being affrighted, they began to take care of their outward man (as these Enthusiasts express themselves.) Thus the Sectaries being depriv'd of the liberty of assembling together throughout the nation, they kept quiet that year. The same was also commanded and done at the same time in *Scotland*. And whereas about the same time they had translated *Buchanan's* book of the right of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, which was written in *Latin*, into *English*, the more to intoxicate the people, and seduce them from their faith and allegiance; the King's Council strictly prohibited the reading it, by a threatening Proclamation;

tion; which was formerly done in 1584, by an Act of Parliament against the *Latin* book it self. But one plague being extinguish'd, presently another began to spread, and went thro' almost the whole nation, with the greatest slaughter that had been in the memory of man, even of two hundred thousand men. Whence it happen'd that the Parliament was prorogued to the following year: Nor did they meet till *October*, being summoned to *Oxford*, as necessity required.

Altho' a Pestilence us'd to give respite from War, yet it did not now produce any cessation of arms: For the Duke of *York*, Lord High-Admiral of *England*, with incredible expedition, had fitted out the compleatest fleet that ever sail'd from an *English* Port; and in the beginning of the spring, with great zeal for fighting, to increase his glory, he almost besieg'd the *Dutch* Shoars for two months. Nor was the Enemy's Fleet seen by ours, till the first of *July*, and yet the fight was on the fifth. *Opdam*, the Commander of their Fleet, was bred
up

up in wars at sea; of a noble birth, and a brave man, thoroughly experienc'd in sea-affairs.

But the Duke of *York*, *tho' the most famous Commander of his time at land*, had scarce ever before seen a Fight at sea: Yet with how great a slaughter of men, and destruction of ships, did this young Sea-man rout this old Officer! *Opdam* himself, together with four other Sea-officers, eight thousand Men, and eighteen Ships, half of which were Ships of the largest size, perish'd in one day's fight; the rest fled: Nor perhaps had so much as a fisher-boat of the Enemy's escap'd, if night, or rather, if treachery had not at once put an end to the Battle, and to Victory. So great was the number of the prisoners, that a new Fleet of sea-men and soldiers seem'd to be coming into port. For such always was the Duke's clemency in war, that he chose to spare the blood of his enemies as much as possible, even as if they had been his countrymen; therefore he sent out his transports, to take up the

3 *Dutch*

Dutch that were struggling with the ocean. Whence the *English* Navy came safe into the haven, with as it were redoubled force, having lost but one little ship.

While the whole Nation labour'd at once with all the grievous calamities of Pestilence and War, the Schismatics again lifted up themselves with the hopes of liberty: For they never think themselves happy, but in the miseries of their country. Therefore, all good men being intent upon other matters, they also endeavour, with all their might, to re-establish their interest, being very solicitous, and watching every difference of fortune. If the King's Fleet had been beaten, they had presently join'd in open war; but whereas it overcame, that design was put off to another time. Nor did they only conspire at home, but abroad; and with a foreign enemy, against their country: For at the same time, there was an Assembly of Rebels that sat in *Holland*, who join'd counsels with the very States themselves, al-

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though to that time, there had been a perfect *Carthaginian* War with the States. Not a few voluntiers, mov'd only by their love of Rebellion, and hatred to their Country, entred themselves in the Enemy's Fleet. And some of these are presently so highly honour'd among the *Dutch*, that they were thought to have merited the highest offices in their Republick.

But the most seditious of all, were the schismatical Preachers, who having been quell'd the year before, the Kingdom being now otherwise engaged, they take fresh liberty, and rage on every side with greater fury: Before the people, again assembled in their Conventicles, they preach only of Persecution and Tyranny; that now was the time of recovering their Liberty; that perhaps they shou'd have no more, if this war was prosperously ended. And *Cromwell's* Officers were so far from being discourag'd by so many unfortunate attempts of their accomplices, from hoping for better success, that they were
rather

rather more animated, and made more fierce; and were now at length resolv'd to make their last push. Hence arose a new Conspiracy, which yet the great vigilance of the great Duke of *Albemarle* prevented, before it broke out into open force. There was a large conflux of them from every part to *London*, where, by the greatness of the city, they might more easily conceal their numbers; and making one general assault by night, they might surprize their Enemies before they could stand to their arms. But the better to compass their point, they resolv'd to destroy *London* by fire; which they would have done on the 2^d of *September*, the very same day, and in the same manner, in which it was burnt the year following. And this they would do, not only mov'd by the prediction of *Lilly*, a certain Cunning man, but the very tokens of the stars themselves; for at that moment of time they said a planet wou'd rule, that portended eternal destruction to Monarchy.

But

But a discovery being seasonably made of the Conspiracy, the chief Leaders were taken, and executed, *Rathbone, Sanders, Tucker, Flint, Evans, Miles, Westcote* and *Cole*. The rest of the Conspirators escap'd. There was a certain person nam'd *Alexander*, an old Soldier in *Cromwell's* army, and even a Lieutenant Colonel in *Cromwell's* troop, who is yet alive, that was the head of the Conspiracy. He paid all the Rebels, assign'd them their posts in the city, and indeed was the principal manager of the war. To this fellow, together with his associates, when they repented of their wickedness, or rather misfortune, because all their endeavours were still frustrated, the King afterwards granted pardon for all their crimes, that at length they might be quiet. Which being obtain'd, he was not afraid to relate the whole story to his friends, over a chearful glass; from whom I have receiv'd this and a great deal more, agreeable to the matters recorded in court. I know those to whom he jesting shew'd the place
where

where their Parliament sat (for so he call'd the Assembly of the Rebels) and from whom he receiv'd instructions and commands to carry to the Conspirators abroad. Nor that only, but he also said there was another Assembly in *Holland*, and that both corresponded with each other, and with the States themselves; neither was any thing done against their country, but by the common resolutions of both. This was the very same *Alexander*, who, tho' he had always behav'd himself bravely in *Cromwell's* Rebellion, and never fear'd any danger in the several Conspiracies against the King; yet afterwards, in *Monmouth's* Rebellion, in which he was Colonel of Horse, as if he had been seiz'd with a terrible panic, he could not bear the sight of the Enemy, nor make the least stand, but was one of the first that actually fled, if one turn'd his back before another. Whether his spirits were broken by the consciousness of guilt, or whether he was seiz'd with a sudden dejection of mind (as it is reported of some brave men)

men) or was weakned with age (whatever it was) such abject cowardise and pusillanimity, in a man so stout and courageous, was a wonder to all that were present at the action. But whereas he was one of the first that fled, he escap'd from danger, and being at this time attainted for Treason, he either lies hid at home, or is in exile abroad. Such is the innate inclination of those men to Rebellion, that it cannot be rooted out by kindness, nor worn out by age; but their body being unable to accomplish their wickedness, their spirits are yet vigorous enough to attempt it. But indeed the cowardise of *Alexander* was not singular, but common to all the horse: For these suddenly coming upon the enemy, in the silence of the night, at the first discharge of a gun from the King's forces, they all to a man betook themselves to flight; so that they were all equally ignorant whether there had been any fight at all; and every one was ignorant, not only of what his companions, but what he himself had

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done. Nor could the officers and soldiers that were taken upon the field of battle, when the King afterwards ask'd them which way, and how near they came to the enemy, in what place they began to fight, how long they fought, whence they began to fly, and lastly, whither they went after their flight? return any answer, but that when they found they were fallen among the enemy, but in what place they knew not, their whole cavalry was broke and dispers'd, as it were by common consent; and then stragling in the darkness of the night, at break of day they stole away into their nearest fastnesses; and news being brought of the entire victory over their companions (for the infantry stood some time) every one shifted for his safety as well as he could. This was the conduct of that great officer, who had bravely perform'd the part of a commander, who had tried all the hazards of war, who had taken *Maestrick* by a bold, and till then unheard of impetuosity; who distinguish'd himself among

the first and bravest in the sharp and bloody battle of *Mons*; this, I say, was the infatuated conduct of this great General. So very different from one another are a Soldier and a Rebel!

But to proceed with our Annals: The Parliament being provok'd with such frequent risings of the Rebels, resolv'd to pluck up the roots of these evils, by one effectual Law: By this all the teachers were banish'd five miles from every city, town, or parish from whence they had been ejected, unless they would take this oath, That it was unlawful to take up arms against the King, upon any pretence whatsoever; and that they did in their conscience abhor that damnable doctrine and position, that it was lawful to bear arms by his authority, either against himself, or those that were commission'd by him; and lastly, that they would attempt no innovation in Church or State. Unless they did this, they were to be fin'd forty pounds; and if this money was not paid, they were to be imprisoned for six months, and were

to be punish'd in the same manner as often as they should offend. A few of them took this oath; most of the rest were driven into the country, where there was neither sufficient numbers of men, nor opportunity of hiding; after this they for the most part liv'd quiet: Neither indeed were the Schismatics ever so much broken by any Law, as by this. Therefore the domestick enemy being secur'd by this Law, they reach'd the foreign one by passing another; for by Act of Parliament, all the fugitive subjects of the King of *England*, that resided in the United Provinces, were commanded to return home, under pain of being guilty of high treason, in three months time. Amongst these were summoned by name, *Doleman*, *Bamfield*, and *Scot*, the son of the regicide *Scot*; persons that deserved to be for ever proscribed. And presently after, by the King's Proclamation, *John Desborow*, *Thomas Kelsy*, and many others of the *Cromwellian* officers, and the rest of the Rebels, were summoned under the same penalties.

ties. They who came, were, for a reward of their obedience, permitted to live in their country: They who refus'd were banish'd for ever.

In the following year, a new war was begun, or rather the old one was renew'd, by a league struck between the *French* and *Dutch*, against the *English*. On the first of *July* the *English* fleet sail'd out of port. Soon after the King's Privy Council were inform'd, either by the subtlety of the enemy, or rather by some treachery, that the *French* fleet was nigh at hand, but the *Dutch* wou'd scarce get out to sea in a fortnight. That therefore the enemies might be destroy'd before they were join'd, *Rupert*, Prince *Palatine*, who was join'd in equal power with the Duke of *Albemarle* over the fleet, was commanded to meet the *French*: And he sailing with half the fleet against the enemy, who were not yet come out of port, the *Dutch* came by surprize, with a double number of ships, upon the other squadron. *Albemarle*, unacquainted with fear, and being un-

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accustom'd to fly, and too great a despiser of the enemy, having long and often tried the *Dutch* valour, joyfully bore up to give battle: They fought for three days with incredible fury, while the greatest part of the *English* fleet, having lost their masts and yards, lay unmov'd, and so engaged with the enemy, as if it had been a fight at land; in which article of time, *Rupert*, whom the noise of the guns had reach'd from afar, came seasonably in with full sail, to the relief of his friends; and now immediately the fierceness of the engagement began to be renew'd with the enemy, now somewhat confounded; and the *English*, inflam'd both with anger and revenge, fought with such ardour that they almost overcame the *Dutch*, who were amazed at their uncommon gallantry and behaviour in the fight; for they did not permit them to fight at a distance, with their guns, as is usual, but breaking into the very center of their fleet, they poured in thick their broadsides upon them from every quarter;

ter: But at length, in the evening Prince *Rupert's* mast being broke, the battle ceased. In the mean while the *Dutch*, astonish'd at this unsupportable shock, soberly sail'd off. And because they once got away without being utterly destroy'd, they spread great reports all over *Europe*, of an entire victory over the *English*; as if hardly one little vessel had escap'd, coining medals to confirm them. Yet in the following month of *August*, when another battle was fought, they hardly made a stand for four hours: For four Vice-Admirals, and six Captains of ships being slain in so short a time, and two Vice-Admiral ships being destroy'd, overborn by so furious an attack, they bore away as fast as they could; only *Tromp* with his squadron maintain'd the fight against one of the *English* with his usual bravery and courage, till the evening: But being left by his countrymen, he stole away in the night. The *English* now block'd up their ports and their shores, challenging them in vain to fight. But at last, before they went

away, a little vessel call'd in jest by the name of the *Fanfan*, that is, the *Trifle*, having two small guns on board, being sent into the harbour, attack'd the Admiral, often firing at him; and at length having suffer'd a little by two bullets, she return'd to the *English* Fleet; the spectators on one side laughing, and on the other part, raging at such an act of contempt upon so proud a nation. And so much for these matters; but as the Conspiracy had been universal, the *Scots* not daunted by what their allies had suffer'd, would not be wanting to the Confederacy, which they had undertaken to defend; especially their teachers, who in the former year being punish'd by the same Law as the *English* Schismatics were, broke out with equal fury, except that perhaps the *Scots* were fiercer, as being more severely punish'd; for the *English* were banish'd only five miles from any city or town; the *Scotch* were banish'd twenty from their own parishes, six from a city, and three from a town; neither were two of them suf-

fer'd

fer'd to settle in the same place. Being mov'd therefore by such great indignities offer'd to the saints of God, they incessantly stirr'd up the people to fight the battles of the Great *Jehovah*.

But all their counsels, as of the other parts of the Conspiracy, were laid open to the King. He therefore watch'd all their steps, that they might not proceed farther than he pleas'd; and at length, when he perceiv'd the affair would come to arms, he made haste to restrain them by force. There were two excellent officers, *Deyell* and *Drummond*, who having stood with inviolable fidelity on the King's side, in the heat of the Rebellion against *Charles* the first, being oblig'd to leave the Kingdom in *Cromwell's* time, fled to *Muscovy*, where, when they had done military service for some time, they so distinguish'd themselves by their bravery and conduct, that they were made Commanders of all the forces of the Kingdom. *Deyell* had the first place of command, *Drummond* the second: In which
high

high honour they liv'd many years, to their own and their country's glory. At length, this very year *Charles* the second, by letters to the *Czar*, requir'd that they might have leave to return to their country. The *Czar*, tho' unwilling to part with men of so much use and authority, and only because he was oblig'd by the common Law of Nations, dismiss'd them with the most remarkable honour and munificence. These Gentlemen coming to *London*, and being as graciously receiv'd as they deserv'd, were forthwith sent into *Scotland*, to head all the forces there with the same command as in *Muscovy*; where there were two bodies of veteran soldiers got together; the one of foot, under *Deyell*, the other of horse, under *Drummond*. Coming into *Scotland* in the month of *August*, they dispatch'd matters with such diligence, that before the first of *November* they had an army ready and fit for service. With these forces, altho' the Fanaticks were a little surpriz'd, yet they were not quite frightened, altho' the

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Conspiracy broke out into open war a little sooner than they had themselves resolv'd. There was a Gentleman, eminent in peace and war, Sir *James Turner*, Knight, a Colonel of foot, and also of a pleasant wit, and fluent eloquence, and a most zealous enemy to the Fanaticks; and therefore, some years before, by the command of the King's Council, he was sent to suppress the faction: For whereas the Earl of *Middleton*, the first Lord High Commissioner, after the King's return, did, in 1662, command all the ministers, either to obey the Bishops, or quit their Churches, most of them hid themselves in the western parts of *Scotland*. To restrain these, that were daily tumultuous, *Turner* was sent first, by the King's Privy Council; and he, in the beginning, that is, in the year 1663, treated the Fanaticks gently and facetiously, and without inflicting any penalty, won over not a few of them, by the sweetness of his behaviour. The next year, he being call'd to the city of *Glasgow*, the people relaps'd to their
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Conventicles; but returning the next year, both by authority, and by admonitions, he for some time restrain'd them from open rage: But when he was a second time call'd away, their meetings were held more than usually; therefore in 1666, when by the command of Council, he exercis'd a stricter government over them, especially in demanding their fines, on the 15th of *December*, about two hundred armed men suddenly surpriz'd him, being not only in his winter quarters at *Dunfrize*, but sick in bed, and his soldiers every where dispers'd in the neighbouring villages; and, plundering him of no small quantity of money, which he had ready to pay his soldiers, they carried him away prisoner. The day after, the leader of this tumult, who had enrich'd himself with no small booty of *Turner's* money, pack'd up his effects, and deserted his companions. Who he was, or whence he came, none of them knew; only that he call'd himself by the name of *Gray*, and said his authority was given him

him by a superior power. But what that power was, and how constituted, no body knew. They were so much in love with sedition, that they were lifted in a moment's time, by an unknown person, and hastned to arms upon any pretence whatsoever. I believe indeed that he was not one of the faction, but some cunning rogue, who coming by chance into the knowledge of the Conspiracy, made use of this stratagem by way of robbery, and having luckily compass'd the point, the spectre vanish'd, and was no where since to be found. The day after, three others were substituted into the place of their lost General; one of whom was *Robinson* by name, and he was a teacher; and the next day, *John Wells*, a famous preacher of Rebellion and the Gospel, join'd them. Both the preachers visited *Turner*, and endeavour'd to bring him over to them, sometimes by threats, and sometimes by flatteries. He, either in jest or contempt, order'd some ale to be brought him. *Robinson*, before he
would

would let him drink, thus bless'd the cup; boldly calling upon God, *That he, without delay, wou'd come to the aid of his holy army; and unless he would speedily come, threatening that they would forsake him, for that it was his cause, not theirs; and unless he would fight for himself, it was not their business to fight for him.* Believe me, these were the very words of the mad Enthusiast. On the 29th of *December* (being *Sunday*) a council of their Leaders was held, in which were two and thirty preachers; and they commanded the Solemn League and Covenant to be sworn to by their whole army, as it were by way of lustration. At which time it was disputed whether they should presently kill *Turner*, or not; it being one of the articles of the Covenant, That they would bring all malignants to due punishment. They agreed upon the death of the man; but they were much divided in their opinions, whether they should kill him immediately, or keep him for a more solemn sacrifice. At length, the opinion of

of those that were for deferring it, prevail'd, because that would be the severer punishment. Then they proceeded to tempt the brave man, being almost spent for want of sleep, with the fear of death. He told them he did not fear death, but since he must die, it did not signify much, whether it was by a fever, or a gun, a sword, an ax, or a halter. At length, on the 30th of *December*, the King's army found out the enemy, whom they had been long in quest of, about two miles from *Edinburgh*, and presently engaging, they fought briskly on both sides. *Drummond* begun the battle with a hundred horse, against three hundred of the enemy. At the first onset, there fell of the enemy, two great leaders, and indeed trumpeters of war, *Crookshank*, and *Mac-Cormack*, veteran soldiers, and veteran preachers: At whose fate the rest being affrighted, gave way: Presently *Ogilby*, with another troop of horse, advanced to the enemy, between whom there was a notable fight, and a doubtful

ful battle. But the King's horse, overpowered by the number of the enemy, retired a little, to whom *Deyell* sent the right wing of the horse to relieve them. These being too close together in a strait and narrow place, were a hindrance to each other; which when the left wing of the Rebels observed, they made a warm attack upon them; insomuch that the King's forces gave back a little, but presently recovering their ranks, they stop'd the force of the enemy. But when *Lermont*, formerly a taylor, but now Commander of the right wing of the Rebels, observ'd the disorder in the right wing of the Royalists, he imprudently quitted the place in which he stood against *Drummond*, so that the victory was the more easily compleated where it first begun. As soon as *Drummond*, and the illustrious Duke of *Hamilton* (who stood apart on the opposite side, with a chosen troop of horse) had observ'd this, they attack'd them on that side with such vigour, that their horse being driven back upon their
foot,

Foot, they were put to a precipitate flight. The Rebels were not more in number than 1200, a third part had shifted for themselves by flight before the Battle; altho' a thousand six hundred had sworn by the Covenant that they would not desert. So little true bravery is there, without the assurance of a good Conscience! There were eighty slain, and as many taken. But because the Battle was begun at the approach of Night, there was more of flight than slaughter. The Rebels us'd the Covenant as the word of battle that day. The prisoners threw all the blame of their wickedness upon the preachers. About thirty were hang'd at *Edinburgh* and *Glasgow*: Among these was *Robinson*, whom we mention'd for his benediction over the ale. In the beginning of the fight, *Wilks* and *Sempler*, teachers, and chief authors of the Conspiracy, retir'd to prayers upon a mountain, behind their forces, continually crying out, *The God, the God of Jacob*. These truly were much wiser than their companions;

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nions; not only because it is safer to pray than to fight; and there is less danger in the business of a teacher, than a foldier; but because they that are last in the battle, may be the first in the flight, and so they escaped far before their companions. The Generals, *Deyell* and *Drummond*, were taken into the Privy Council, as a reward of their victory; and very deservedly: For had they not with unwearied watchfulness and diligence pursued the Rebels, they would have flock'd together in great numbers, on all sides: For there was (as I said) an universal conspiracy, which they so seasonably gave a check to by this battle, that they utterly broke the force and spirit of the faction. But altho' the Nobility of the Kingdom did, with the utmost fidelity and bravery, concur to restrain the Rebels; amongst these, Duke *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Athol*, *Linlithgow* and *Kelly*, were principally distinguish'd, for their valour and vigilance; yet Duke *Hamilton's* glory was the greatest, because the victory begun at his Troops

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I received this from *Drummond* himself; as also all the rest, partly from him, and partly from Sir *James Turner*, who wrote daily journals of the affairs in both armies; and these being written with his own hands, *Drummond* kindly imparted to me. After the battle, *Turner* being in the power of the vanquish'd enemy, was in greater danger than before; his keepers having it in charge, that if the Rebels were overcome, they should kill him immediately; whereas otherwise, they were to preserve him for a sharper punishment, as they had served the most illustrious Earl of *Montross*, whom they hang'd upon a gallows thirty foot high; which when *Turner* knew, he brought himself off by this policy: In the beginning of the battle, he thus, in a friendly way, spoke to his guards (for there were eight left to guard him) " This night, my
" friends, either you or we must be
" conquerors. If you conquer, I shall
" be as I am, your prisoner; never hop-
" ing for liberty, but in death. But if

“ we conquer, you and I are in equal
“ danger. If therefore you'll preserve
“ me safe from your men, in case they
“ are put to flight, I will not only de-
“ fend you from our men, but, getting
“ a pardon for your Rebellion, I will
“ take care that every one of you shall
“ go safe to his own home.” They all
consented. But when he considered how
little fidelity there was in those men,
he advis'd them to confirm the agree-
ment by an oath, with their hands lifted
up to heaven: For with that ceremony
they took the oath of their Solemn
League and Covenant. The ceremony
of this new agreement was hardly con-
cluded, when the Rebels began to fly:
Seeing which, four of the guards fled,
and he, with the rest, delivered up them-
selves to some of Duke *Hamilton's* horse,
who as they were the first in conquering,
so they were the first in pursuing. These
were overjoy'd for the safety of *Turner*,
and brought him to the Duke, who em-
braced him with great joy, carrying him to
the Generals, to whom, as also to the Duke
and

and all good men, he was very dear : And being received by them with equal kindness, he obtain'd the lives and liberties of his guards. They readily granted his request, for joy that they found so brave a man, whose life they so long despair'd of, was still alive. And thus ended not only this war, but all the wars of this year.

The very same year happen'd the sad and dreadful Fire of *London*, and on the very same day (as I before observ'd) that had been agreed upon by the Rebel Fanaticks, by which the flames, in four days, laid waste that vast extent of buildings : All within the walls were levell'd with the ground, and the fire spreading wide without the gates, made great havoc in the suburbs. There were consum'd more than thirteen thousand houses, above ninety churches, together with *St. Paul's*, the *Royal-Exchange*, *Guild-Hall*, *Sion-College*, many hospitals and other publick buildings, both sacred and common, as many as had covered the space of fifty six acres of ground. When

When a computation was made of this great loss, by the King's command, men well versed in that business, estimated the damage to amount to ten hundred thousand pounds. Concerning the beginning of the fire, there were various opinions: Some affirm'd it came by chance, others by treachery, and not a few by divine vengeance; for whereas at the same time we were at war with the *French* and *Dutch*, the common people cried that the enemies had kindled the fire; but especially (as is usual in every such extraordinary case) many ascribe this horrid wickedness to the Papists rage and hatred against a city of Protestants. But there were some of the Fanaticks that whisper'd one to another, that it was done by command, and carried on and continued by the very guards. For such is the perverseness and insolence of that tribe, that they put the worst construction upon the best of things; for whereas it was really stopp'd every where almost, by the sole assistance of the King and his Guards,

and

and chiefly by the special vigilance of the Duke of *York*; was it not gratitude to accuse them, as if they themselves were the incendiaries? But if it was done by any treachery, it was by their own; since it appears not only by publick Records of Court, but by the confessions of those that were convicted, that they intended to set the city on fire on the same day; so that if it happen'd by any human means, they must transfer all the blame from others to themselves. But since the city had been the tower and head of that horrid Rebellion against *Charles* the first, not a few believ'd that it was sent by God, as a punishment of that wickedness; especially since the fire prevail'd chiefly within those places, in which the first tumults were rais'd against that good King, from which, soon after, that war, so impious, so cruel, so destructive, flam'd out. But altho' I think it rash to interpret the secret counsels of God, yet I could not sufficiently wonder, when I read of so great a calamity be-

ing confidently foretold many years before; for in the year 1653, one *Zeigler* of *Lipfick*, wrote a book against the Regicides, and principally against *Milton*, in which the angry Prophet applied himself to the rebellious city in these words:

“ Thou that art now proud *London*,
“ in some time shalt not be at all:
“ Nay, unless all my notions, and all
“ the maxims of Policy deceive me,
“ thou art not far from thy destruction.

But if the fire happen'd by the same chance as other misfortunes do in human affairs, there is not so much cause to wonder that it spread so far, as that it spread no farther, if we consider the situation of the place where it first broke out: It arose in a Baker's Shop, at the dead part of night, amongst wooden houses, before almost consum'd with age, and all these took fire with the first onset of the flames, a strong East wind blowing vehemently at that time: The streets and lanes adjoining were very narrow, and large stores were lodged in

in them, of oil, pitch, sulphur, flax, hemp, tallow, cotton, and other combustible wares, that are apt to increase and feed the flames. These being seiz'd by the fire, burnt like *Ætna* and *Vesuvius*, not only within the compass of their own furnace, but cast forth balls of fire far and wide, so that new flames arose in several places, and those distant from each other, at the same time: Nor did the fire seize only the houses, but also the very air, which convey'd it with incredible swiftneſs to all the lofty buildings, before the flames could otherwise have reach'd them. Hence the tower of *St. Paul's*, famous for its height, burnt with great violence some hours before the fire could come to it through the other buildings.

But with how great a loss ſoever, of the citizens and inhabitants, ſo great a destruction happen'd, yet it arose out of its ashes, with ſuch glory to the nation and the city, that they could hardly be ſorry that it was burnt, ſince from wood it was almoſt turn'd into marble:

For

For the city was built with houses of such a beautiful and majestick structure, that the whole world does not afford any thing equal, or even comparable to it. A stranger would think that the tradesmens shops were noblemens seats, and that the merchants houses were the mansions of princes. And as it increas'd in beauty, so also it did in greatness; for the old city was scarce half as big as the present. Nor is it more improv'd in its buildings, than its morals.

The End of the first Book.

Bp. *PARKER*'s
HISTORY
OF
His Own Time.

BOOK II.

THE King being wearied at once with these fatal calamities of plague and fire, suffer'd himself to be prevail'd upon by the neighbouring Princes, especially the *French* and the *Swede*, to treat of peace with the *Dutch*. But whilst the Embassadors and Ministers were debating together, the *Dutch*, at the very time they were going

going to enter upon that peace which they themselves had begg'd, contrary to the Law of Nations, and the dignity of an honourable war, came by surprize upon the *English* fleet, as it lay in harbour, and was entirely unprovided; and if they had manag'd matters with as much courage as treachery, they might have destroy'd the whole fleet, without any danger of their own: But, as if they had been affrighted at their own audacious attempt, burning only four ships, and seizing a few, they return'd, not so much with a victory as a triumph: For it had not been difficult even for the *Dutch* to have overcome all the *English* fleet, unarm'd and unman'd. Otherwise they never fought successfully with the *English*, but either in this insidious attack, or when our fleet was divided, one half being in an expedition against the *Dutch*, the other against the *French*; in which case the *Dutch* were perhaps a match for half the *English* fleet: For altho' they had their *Tromps*, *Opdams*, and *Reuters*, and
other

other famous Admirals, yet the *English* Navy consisted both of more valiant Commanders, and braver Seamen. Nay, granting that the Commanders on both sides were equally skilful and brave, yet the very seamen always routed the enemy by their courage and alacrity. Supposing that *Tromp* were a match for *Blake*, as indeed he was a man of great courage, yet *Tromp* being outdone thro' the unequal bravery of his men, he was beaten in three battles. Let him be superior in his skill of sea-affairs, to *Monk* a land-officer, yet was he forc'd to resign both a great victory, and his own life, to *Monk*, after twenty seven *Dutch* ships had been either taken or destroy'd. I mention'd in the former year, how great a conquest the Duke of *York*, a great land-officer, but ignorant of sea-affairs, and unaccustom'd to naval engagements, obtain'd over *Opdam*, a veteran sea-man, the first day they join'd battle. Lastly, let *Reuter* be the most experienc'd of all sea-commanders, yet he scarce ever durst fight with the *English*, but with a double
number

number of ships; and was always put to flight, except once, when he engaged with half our fleet.

Even in this expedition (shall I say) or this piracy, they durst not do any thing becoming soldiers: For when there was occasion to fight, altho' they attempted many things, yet they went off without compassing their point, being repuls'd with great disgrace: For when *Spragg* (a man, the love and delight of all men, both for his warlike bravery, and his sweetness of temper) had gotten nineteen small vessels, and plac'd them at the mouth of the *Thames*, together with a few fire-ships, he kept the enemy from returning into the river, tho' they fought two days. Then a descent being made upon the coasts of *Suffolk*, under an officer of one of *Cromwell's* fugitives, they attack'd a fort called *Languard*. The Governor of that fort was *Darrel*, an old officer under *Charles* the first, a man as well of great fidelity to his King, as bravery against the enemy. He suffer'd them to set ladders against

gainst the walls, which being done, as they were climbing up, he came upon them with a sudden sally, and beat them back with great slaughter. And when they attempted it again, he put the enemy to so precipitate a flight, killing about two hundred of them, that they left their ladders against the walls, and presently return'd to their fleet. Lastly, when they had sail'd round almost the whole island, they tried several places convenient for a descent, as *Portsmouth*, *Dartmouth*, and *Plimouth*; but always with the same fortune, being repuls'd with shame and loss. Thus they continued stealing of sheep in the fields, almost till the end of *August*, when the peace was made. There were on board Admiral *Reuter's* ship, throughout this expedition, *Dolman*, that inveterate enemy to his country, and *John De-Witt*, who at that time had the sole administration in the *Dutch* commonwealth. A man of the meanest birth, but proud, insolent, and morose, and therefore an inexorable enemy to Kings, because he

could not bear their greatness; for this mean fellow had a desire to make himself famous by his enmity with the greatest men. But he especially hated the King of *Great Britain*, and he was also the basest flatterer of *Cromwell*, as long as he liv'd, because he could prevail over the *Dutch* with as much power at sea, as he thought fit. He alone was the author of all the wars with the *English*. But at length, after governing long, he was miserably torn limb from limb at the *Hague*, in a popular tumult. Concerning which, more hereafter.

This same year died the Earl of *Southampton*, Lord High Treasurer, a man of the noblest birth, and of entire fidelity to the Royal Family, made Lord High-Treasurer after the Restoration; which office he executed honourably, without any advantage to himself; and he took care that the King should not be involved in debt: And the Treasury, which he found empty, he left as full as it was in his power to leave it. He being
2 dead,

dead, his office was put into commission, at the head of which was *Ashley Cooper*, afterwards Earl of *Shaftsbury*; for the rest were so much taken up with other affairs, that they entrusted him principally with the administration.

Some months after the death of the Treasurer, the Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord high Chancellor of *England*, being chiefly attack'd from the side of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and those in his interest, and the House of Commons blowing the coals, to whom it is often an affair of extraordinary pleasure to make Prime Ministers feel their power, was banish'd; whether for any fault, or none at all, shall be plainly and ingenuously said, in its proper place. But whatever he was, it so happen'd; that at the same time, all the old Counsellors lost the King's favour, who had shewn the strictest fidelity to him, thro' all the changes of times.

But that the order and series of these Annals may be the better distinguish'd, I must fix a twofold *Æra*, or period of
K time;

time: One, while the chief administration of affairs was in the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and his adherents; during which, while they seem'd to give such advice as still would please, yet they work'd matters up with such dexterity, that under a shew of affection for the King, and zeal for his interest, they very much less'n'd his reputation and authority. The other, when he was accused of High Treason, and remov'd from the administration. In the beginning of the first interval of time, there were two confederacies (as we may call them) of men that strongly oppos'd one another: The first consisted of all good men that bewail'd the misfortune of the King and Kingdom, when all publick affairs were put (as they thought) into the hands of enemies. The other consisted of such, who more zealously promoted the interest of their own party, than the welfare of the Kingdom. Hence daily there were new commotions in the Parliament, occasion'd by the latter sort of men. For hitherto, for seven years together, the

the Parliament had paid greater regard and duty to the King, than had ever been known or remembred. But now they began to look about them, to be afraid of every thing, to attend very vigilantly the safety and good of the Kingdom, and to give the Faction disturbance every hour, that they might not attempt any thing by surprize against it. For whereas they proceeded upon two kinds of measures, the one advantageous, the other prejudicial to the publick good, the Parliament ratified the former, and disappointed and defeated the latter. By the former a triple alliance was made between the Kings of *England* and *Sweden*, and the United Provinces, against the Most Christian King, who was in the flower of his age, a gallant and understanding Prince, capable of universal empire, a greater than whom *France* had never produc'd since the time of *Charles* the First. Being so powerful by land and sea as to be the terror of *Europe*, he proclaim'd war this year against the Provinces of *Flanders*, claim-

ing it as his wife's dowry. Therefore care was taken by this triple alliance to oppose the measures of so great a Prince; to which alliance most of the *German* Princes acceded. And this resolution the Parliament readily embrac'd, granting a large supply of money for fitting out the fleet: But the other project of establishing a good understanding and amity among the King's Protestant Subjects, they heard mention'd with the highest indignation, tho' the King himself had recommended it to them in his speech: Therefore they presently fly to the King, and beg him to ratify and enforce all the Laws against the Schismatics, for that so many complaints were daily brought from every county of their fresh insolence, that if they were not suddenly restrain'd, there could be no peace in the Kingdom for the future. For when the Factious found that their friends were at the head of affairs (such is the perverseness of those men) they presently threw off all regard to laws and magistrates. Nor did

did they only seize again their conventicles by force and violence, but attack'd the Ministers of the Church of *England*, even in the midst of divine service, with such reproaches, outrages, and clamours, as were scarce ever heard of. The King being prevail'd upon by these intreaties and complaints of the two Houses, sent out his Proclamation to all civil and military officers in counties, cities and towns, whereby he enjoin'd each of them to put the Laws in execution with the utmost diligence. The Factious being astonish'd at this constancy of the Parliament, despair'd of doing their business, so long as that continu'd; therefore they first of all consulted how they might procure its dissolution, and then how they might disturb and hinder them in dispatch of business. The first being attempted in vain, they presently started disputes between the two Houses, concerning their prerogatives and privileges. A dispute was rais'd by agreement between one *Skinner*, a dependent of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and

Sir *Samuel Bernardiston*, a leading man of the Faction. This was the man, who when he was but a very young citizen, had put himself at the head of the city-tumults, that in 1641. daily beset the Parliament, crying out, *Justice! Justice!* against the Earl of *Strafford*. *Skinner* implor'd the aid of the House of Lords. *Bernardiston* appeals from them to the Commons. The Factious in both Houses engage in the dispute with great warmth, and a private cause not worth mentioning, being turn'd into a publick one, a new controversy arose, whether it was lawful for the House of Lords to act as a court of Judicature in any other cases but those that are brought before them by Appeal? The Peers zealously assert, that since they are the supreme court in the Kingdom, the power of arbitration is entirely at their own pleasure, and in their own breast: That if by right there may be appeals to them from other courts of an inferior nature, why may not the same judgment be good without any appeal at all? On the
other

other hand, the lower House affirm'd, that if this prerogative of judging were allow'd, there would be an end of the common administration of the Law, upon which alone the liberty of *English* Subjects depends: And that the courts in *Westminster-hall* would be of no use or authority, if it were lawful to refer every thing to the Peers, neglecting those and other courts. In a word, they were so enrag'd against one another, that the Parliament was prorogued by several intervals, for a year together, and then, the Faction reviving their old dispute the first day of their meeting, before any thing else, it was prorogued for half a year longer, from *March* the 8th, 1668, to *October* the 19th, 1669, and thence to the 14th of *February* following, 1670, at which time the dispute was laid asleep, by the King's exhorting persuasion and mediation; altho' the next year new seeds of contention were sown between the two Houses, concerning the books of rates being corrected by the House of Lords: For whereas

they had settled some rates otherwise than the House of Commons had determin'd, they presently cried out, that it was not lawful for them to do it; neither ought they to treat of taxes, but as they were peremptorily fixed in their House. On the other hand, the Lords alledg'd, that unless it was in their power to alter them, they should have no power in laying taxes, and they should be consulted in vain, for all authority in that affair would devolve upon the other House. At last the contention arose to that height, that the King losing a considerable subsidy, was obliged to prorogue the Parliament to another year. Yet in the mean time honest men did not omit any opportunity of taking care of the interest of the Kingdom, whensoever the Parliament sate, but allowing no truce to the Faction, urged the execution of the Laws. They waited on the King, to complain of their insolence, giving such manifest proofs of their guilt, that he by Proclamation commanded all their
preachers

teachers to depart five miles from any city or town, according to the Law of the *Oxford* Parliament. But when immediately the report of their insolence increas'd on every side, they were more provok'd, and declar'd such people were no longer to be born with, and enquir'd by whom they were encourag'd; for that the men could never presume to commit such open wickednesses, if there were not some great persons that secretly abetted them. And they assur'd the King that they would stand by him with their lives and fortunes, against all the enemies of the Kingdom; and declared, that all those were such enemies to it, who had rendred vain and ineffectual, any thing that had been ratified by Law in Church and State: And lastly, that they ought to be punish'd as indeed so many rebels. Which importunity being daily repeated, they extinguish'd the fire as often as it broke out. But in the beginning of the following year, being weary of these disturbances, they shew'd their displeasure against Conventicles,

ticles, by passing a new Law : By which it was enacted, that whosoever was present at a Conventicle, should be fined five shillings for the first offence, and ten for the second ; and that the Preacher should be fined twenty pounds for the first offence, and forty for the second ; and that the owner of the meeting-house should undergo the same fine. And if any Magistrate, after information given, neglected the execution of the Law, he was to be fin'd a hundred pounds. And this was such a wound, that the Schismatics, being astonish'd and affrighted, left their Conventicles every where, and retir'd to their dark places of concealment. But the Parliament being at length prorogued, they now being without fear of punishment, flew out into all manner of extravagance : But not to mention all their outrages against their country, there were seven deadly sins (as we say) which they committed almost at the same time, with equal treachery and impudence, against all the Laws of Nature, of Nations, and of the Kingdom.

First,

First, The very patrimony of the Crown is expos'd to sale.

Secondly, The triple Alliance is broken.

Thirdly, Another Alliance is made with the Most Christian King.

Fourthly, a war is entred into against the *Dutch*, at that time our Allies, without any previous declaration of war.

Fifthly, the Exchequer is turn'd into a place of robbery.

Sixthly, Every one is allow'd a boundless liberty in Religion.

Seventhly, By writs issued at their own pleasure, out of the Court of Chancery, elections are made into the lower House, contrary to the custom, which, tho' not very antient, had prevail'd for some years.

First of all, the Treasury being empty, and very much in debt, and the King being solicitous to clear himself, without burthening his subjects, a method was found out whereby the King might pay taxes to himself. For whereas yearly fee-farm rents were paid to the
King

King out of most of the estates of his subjects, these were expos'd to sale; by which means the Crown suffer'd very much in two respects: First, because it carried in it a great diminution of the King's power over his subjects: For by the payment of those rents, they acknowledg'd that they held their right in fee from the King. Secondly, all that remained of the patrimony of the Crown, was hereby in a manner lost. The consequence of which was, that hereafter the Kings of *England* would have nothing to support their dignity, but what they should owe to the good will of their subjects. Nevertheless, an act passed for the purpose abovementioned; nor indeed was it difficult to obtain it: For the Factious voted for it, that they might bring a foul stain and disgrace upon the Majesty of the Crown. And the King's friends were for it, but with another design, that they might for the present relieve their beloved Prince, whom they saw now pinch'd with the greatest distress.

But

But the patrimony of the Crown being consum'd, in the next place they go to work with its reputation and esteem. For now, first the King's Exchequer, being full of money, is shut up, to the immense loss of his subjects, and chiefly of widows and orphans. For the King being exceedingly straitned in his circumstances, was hurried into a second war against the *Dutch*. But when he complain'd that money would be wanting to carry on the charge of so great a war, he was answer'd, that there would be money enough in the Treasury, if the payments were but put off for a year. The King, whose greatest fault was being too fond of ease, and trusting too much to other men, embraced this advice, as seeming necessary in the present conjuncture. Whence many thousands of families, being depriv'd of all their fortunes, live, even to this day, in great poverty, as will their posterity after them. For as the King had long borrowed as much money as he wanted of the Bankers, so all his subjects who

I had

had money to put out, brought it into their shops; both because the Royal Treasury was their security, and also because they could have their money ready for their use, whensoever they had occasion for it. Thus when the Bankers had taken a great sum of money at interest from the subjects, especially from widows and orphans, and the King had taken it of the Bankers; the money which he had in the Exchequer, borrowed of others, came to be applied to other uses: and the infamy of this method of plundering was the greater, because the King had before this made himself surety for the Bankers. For whereas the *Dutch*, in the year 1667, had surpriz'd the King's fleet lying at *Chatham*, in that great consternation and disturbance, the sureties and creditors throng'd to the Bankers for the payment of their money: For in the first terror and surprize, it was thought that the whole island was conquer'd, and that no one could be safe by any means but by flight; therefore many

I gather'd

gather'd together all that they had, to export with them into foreign countries. The King, that the Bankers might not sink under these sudden and pressing demands, by Proclamation engag'd himself, and his Royal Faith and Dignity, for the payment of the money; encouraging them to be quiet a little, for the danger would be presently over, and hereafter, whatever mischief should happen, he would on no account defer the payments of the Treasury, even for a day. Therefore their fear being presently allay'd, by this Proclamation, and they being now secure of their interest being duly paid for the future, all who had money to put out deposited it there, as in the safest place; by which means an immense sum of money that was committed to the Treasury, in confidence of safety, was at once seiz'd and embezzled. And thus the King, as well as the subjects, was impos'd upon; for they persuaded him that the payments were deferr'd only for a year, and then all would be discharg'd, for he would
soon

soon be master of the *Dutch Smyrna* fleet, very richly laden, for which they were in a readiness; and when this was done, they should pay all the debts before the day appointed for payment. But the year being ended, they put it off for another half year, promising upon the publick faith, that it should be no longer deferr'd. But when the King at length found himself incapable of paying, and could no longer bear the tears and complaints of the miserable, he laid the matter before the Parliament. The Factious at the same time interpos'd, to prevent the passing of a Law on their behalf.

When therefore the King desir'd in the next place that the chimney-tax might be engag'd by Law for ever for their satisfaction (altho' this was a great diminution of the Royal Revenue) yet they sharply refus'd it, choosing rather to weaken the credit of the Treasury, than the Treasury it self. For this was only the wound of one age, the other would be an everlasting reproach, and not be
blotted

plotted out by time, till the publick faith had made it self good; and not to be deal'd even then without a scar.

As to the violation of the triple alliance, the beginning the war against the *Dutch*, without proclaiming it, and the entring into a league with the *French* King, they urged these things to his Majesty: That an effectual league between the *English* and the *Dutch* was a thing impracticable: That they were not a just and lawful Republick, but a nest of robbers and pyrates: That there was an innate hatred between the Nations: That the *Dutch* would wage perpetual wars against *England* both by natural inclination and for the sake of gain, which chiefly sways with such sordid men: That that vain Nation vying with ancient *Rome*, promised themselves at last to be masters of the World; over which they had long laid claim to the sole right of trade and commerce: That the King of *England* alone could stop their ambition: That if the *English* were conquered, they would soon command as

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they

they pleas'd at sea without a rival ; and then being Lords at sea would easily get the dominion at land. Therefore since the case stood thus, that one of the nations must fall, this second *Carthage* ought to be destroy'd. Further, what if the Laws of Confederacy had been a little violated, by beginning a war without proclaiming it? the thing was not done against a just enemy, but against a Nation that broke all alliances ; and there was no faith to be kept with those that kept none : That the *Dutch* had always been false to God and man, and being a perjured people, had forfeited all advantage from the Law of Nations : And lastly, since they had no regard to alliances themselves, they could not expect any from others ; much less from the *English*, whom, after so many solemn leagues enter'd into, they had always impos'd upon by their perjuries : That he should remember *Amboyna* and *Surinam*, and the league lately made at the *Hague*, when the wax was yet scarce cold, e'er they had forgot their obligation

tion so far, as even not to strike flag to the *British* ships. He should remember their exploit at *Guinea*, when they surpriz'd Admiral *Holmes*, sailing near the *African* coast, who, when he had in his own defence overcome them, and taken their forts whence they fir'd upon him; they, in his absence, came to complain of him in high terms to the King of *England*; that he had acted like a pyrate, and without any antecedent provocation, had suddenly attack'd and taken their fortresses. That he should remember *Reuter's* villany, who when the *Dutch*, joining fleets with the *English*, had beset the *Algerine* pyrates, withdrew himself by stealth to the coasts of *Guinea*, by order of the States, where by a treacherous robbery he carried away all the effects of the *English*, who little expected any such hostility. And lastly, if an alliance was to be violated at all, it was worth while to violate it for the sake of such a reward: For that the King wou'd suddenly take the *Smyrna* fleet, not apprehensive of

war, and with that one booty would both clear the debts of the Treasury and pay the charges of the ensuing war.

And lastly, we ought to enter into an alliance with the Most Christian King; first, because he was the most powerful Prince in *Europe*; and withal, he was an inveterate enemy to the States. Nay, that it was the common cause of all Kings, to have that insolent Republick destroy'd, which made such a figure in the midst of *Europe*. Neither indeed was the war to be set on foot so much against the *Dutch* Nation, as against the Faction of the *De Wits*, who had long declar'd war against the name of Kings; which Faction being suppress'd, the Prince of *Orange*, the King's nephew, would recover the antient dignity of his family. That the victory over the enemy would be easily and quickly obtain'd, since they had been a long time strangers to a war at land, whereas the *French*, on the other hand, could bring several veteran armies into the field. That the *English* were

were secure of a victory at sea, since they were to fight with an enemy whom they were always too hard for; and at this time, without doubt, they would overcome, since they would have the *French* fleet to assist them; therefore the war would be short, and the advantage of it great, since it might be agreed, that all the inland Provinces should fall to the lot of *France*, and the sea-coasts to *England*. All which counsels being pleasing to the King, and most of them seeming just and beneficial, without difficulty obtain'd his assent. But this occasion'd such havock of men, as all the nations of *Europe* lament to this day. For the *French* King being the most powerful of all, and in strength and military valour almost a match for all, was the only Prince to be fear'd by the Princes of *Europe*. Since therefore it was the common interest, that he should not be too great, they entred into a common alliance to prevent it: For altho' that was call'd a triple alliance, which was first made between the *Eng-*

lish, the *Swedes*, and the *Dutch*, yet presently there came into it the *Spaniard*, the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, a powerful and brave Prince, and almost all the *German* Princes, together with the Emperor. By which manifold bond they sufficiently curb'd *France*, so long as it held together. But that being broken, he presently invaded every place, attacking those separately, whom he durst not attack together; so that all *Europe* was suddenly in a conflagration: First of all, as it were in an instant, and with the swiftness of *Cæsar's* march, all *Holland* was over-run, as far as *Amsterdam*, with a vast slaughter.

There was a bloody fight at sea the same summer, between the *English* and *Dutch*, the Commanders being the Duke of *York* on one side, and *Reuter* on the other. The enemy being as it were in despair, behaved themselves with more ardour and fierceness than heretofore; and tho' they were overcome, and put to flight, and block'd up in port, yet the victory cost us dear.

There

There was a great slaughter of men on both sides: For when the *Dutch*, fighting almost with *English* fury, fought nearer than formerly, with every volley of shot, and every turn of the ships, a great number of men fell in both fleets. Amongst the *English*, many honorary soldiers were slain, and ten captains of ships. Amongst these were the Earl of *Sandwich*, and *Digby* son of the Earl of *Bristol*; who almost alone fought with the third squadron of the *Dutch*: But at length, when *Digby* was shot thro' the heart, and the ship that he commanded was bor'd thro' with innumerable shots, the sea-men with difficulty brought her into the harbour. But *Sandwich* having sadly shatter'd seven of their ships, and beat off three fire-ships, at length being over-power'd with numbers, fell a sacrifice for his country. A Gentleman adorn'd with all the virtues of *Alcibiades*, and untainted by any of his vices; of high birth, capable of any business, full of wisdom, a great Commander at sea and land,

and also learned and eloquent, affable, liberal, and magnificent. *Digby* was descended of a family famous both for courage and wit, and as dear to *Sandwich*, for his great endowments, as if he had been his own son; he was furnish'd with learning that became the dignity of his birth; a very beautiful youth, (he had performed many glorious actions before he had scarcely attain'd to man's estate) he knew not what fear was; he was patient of labour, and prodigal of himself, and yet not rash; engag'd in battles, sieges, sea-fights, and all the actions of war, from the very beginning of his life: And most unfortunately it happen'd to his country, to have a youth of so much bravery, and such fine parts, hurried off by so untimely a death. But thus generally what is most excellent, is of shortest continuance!

With the same loss to his country, fell that eminently ingenious youth, *Charles Cotterel*, the eldest son of the best of fathers, in the twenty second year of his age. A Gentleman devoted

to all kinds of learning; not only skill'd in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, but who spoke (so great was his memory!) every language of *Europe*, as readily as if it had been his mother tongue. But altho' he was adorn'd with all polite and genteel learning, he was yet no less a soldier, being endued with equal sweetness and greatness of mind; he loved his friends with entire sincerity, fear'd no enemy, if indeed he had any, and excell'd in an incredible vigour and constancy of mind. He also, being enrich'd with these great endowments, was most beloved by *Sandwich*: Therefore he follow'd him into all the dangers of war, and did not attend him with less diligence than if he had been one of those that were to guard him. But when in this extremity of danger, he found that that great man must die, with what fury, with what indignation, with what an entire neglect of himself, did he rush upon the enemy! If any one durst attempt to board his ship, he was the first that made the man rue his
his

his rashness; and often the first that boarded the enemy, and encounter'd dangers wheresoever they offer'd themselves; and there was nothing so difficult or dangerous, but what he attempted, till being wearied with the slaughter of his enemy, he died in the midst of his victories.

But the Duke of *York*, as he had better fortune, so he had greater glory, with regard to his danger and his courage. For at the beginning of the engagement, he was beset by four ships, one of them Admiral *Reuter's* ship, another Vice-Admiral *Van-Ess's*, and two other of their largest ships, sent to support them: He not only stood the shock of these, but oblig'd them to retire, and as often as he had the advantage of the wind, he fought so near them, ship to ship, as if they had engaged, not with guns, but swords. And altho' the *Dutch* were at first animated by their numbers, yet he soon put them into disorder by this close fighting; till at length, after three hours, the Duke of

York's

York's Admiral ship was shatter'd and bor'd by many great shots, and strip'd of its masts and yards, so that he was forc'd to go on board Vice-Admiral *Holmes's* ship, in which, when he had maintain'd a fight for some hours, not so properly with single ships, as indeed with their whole fleet, that also was so shatter'd with frequent shots, that afterwards it could hardly be drawn into harbour, for she drew water six foot deep before the Duke left her. Hence he went with the Royal Standard on board a third ship, commanded by *Spragg*, in which he renew'd the battle with greater heat, and at length, towards the close of the day, (and the battle begun in the morning) he put the enemy to flight, and following them to their harbours, he block'd them up for two days, till the wind blowing hard, and a storm rising, he return'd into port with his victorious fleet.

This one battle did not put an end to the war, but the next year there were several engagements, first on the

20th of *May*, then on the 4th of *June*, and lastly on the 20th of *August*: But the *Dutch* being now made more wary, by the change of their affairs for the better, engage with their usual prudence, using their arts more than their arms. For they never venture to fight, but near their coasts and havens, and banks of sand, nay almost within their harbours. Neither would they engage, but at a very convenient distance from their enemy, only there was a remarkable fight between *Spragg* and *Tromp*: For these having mutually agreed to attack each other, not out of hatred, but a thirst of glory, they engag'd with all the rage, or as it were with all the sport of war. They came so close to one another, that like an army of foot they fought at once with their guns and swords. Almost at every turn, both their ships, though not sunk, were yet bored through, their cannon being discharg'd within common gun-shot: Neither did our ball fall in vain into the sea, but each ship pierc'd the other, as
if

if they had fought with spears. But at length, three or four ships being shatter'd, as *Spragg* was passing in a long-boat from one ship to another, the boat was over-turn'd by a chance shot, and that great man not being skill'd, in swimming was drown'd, to the great grief of his generous enemy, who after the death of *Spragg* could hardly hope to find an enemy equal to himself. But thus it happen'd, that when that brave man had overcome so many dangers, his country being now victorious and safe, no honour remain'd for him to receive, but the reward of a glorious death.

And thus there was an end put to war and slaughter, by the death of this great man, for soon after a peace was concluded: For the *Dutch* being humbled and broke, by so many defeats at sea and land, they offer'd humble petitions to the King of *Great Britain*, begging for peace and mercy, making use of the *Spanish* Embassador to interpose his mediatorship: For the King,
after

after so many leagues broken, and vain promises made by the faction of the *De-Wits*, would no longer be put off with *Dutch* faith, but required some person to be guarantee for the performance of the conditions agreed upon. Which being done, the peace was concluded upon these terms.

First, the *Dutch* were for the future, with all obeisance, to strike to the ships of *England*.

Then they were to restore the prisoners taken at *Surinam* to their liberty.

Then they were to quit what they had taken in both *Indies*.

And lastly, they were to pay eight hundred thousand crowns to the King of *Great Britain*, for the charges of the war.

These articles of peace the King thought fit to lay before the Parliament, before he would ratify them, the Parliament finding but one article of little consideration, about fishing near the *British* shores, they most heartily thanked the King, and applauded his wisdom in
what

what he had done. So a peace was concluded the beginning of the next month, *viz. February* the 9th, 1674. and has continued to this day: Every thing was granted for which the war was begun, especially the right and honour of the flag, which the *Dutch* had never, from the times of *Cromwell*, acknowledged to be due to the *English*, by any fair ingenuous agreement, or without ambiguous words. But since this had been the cause, or rather the colour and pretence of the war, *Borell*, the Embassador from the States General to the King of *Great Britain*, consulted *John De-Wits*, who was the chief man in power, that he might know how to treat of that affair. *De-Wits* answered in these words, *September* 22, 1671.

“ This pretended dominion of the sea
“ was always ungrateful to the ears of
“ our countrymen; and as often as it
“ was propos’d, it was always rejected
“ with indignation; and indeed at those
“ very times, when the affairs of the
“ *Dutch* were but in a low estate with
“ respect

“ respect to *England*, and they were in
“ the greatest straits, both for the want
“ of ships, and because their measures
“ were not well settled for undertak-
“ ing a war; to wit, in the years 1653,
“ and 1654, when they made a league
“ with *Cromwell*.” In which, after a
long dispute, the *Dutch* agreed to give
the honour of the flag, but not as a right
and due, but as it were out of courtesy
and civility. And when the *English*
long contended that their top-sails and
flags should be lower’d, not only by
single ships, but by whole fleets; the
Dutch, on the other hand, constantly
refus’d to agree to the peace, unless that
clause concerning the submission of
whole fleets, were taken away.

There was the same agreement in
the treaties of 1662, and 1667, in which,
says he, there was nothing new done,
but the *English* were contented with
the bare transcribing of the article for-
merly drawn up; whence he will have
it to be plain, “ that it is not without
“ manifest injury, that this honour is
“ claim’d.

“ claim’d of our Republick, under the
 “ title of a right and a due, and that
 “ the whole fleet of the United Pro-
 “ vinces should lower their sails and
 “ flags at meeting one or two *English*
 “ ships. Both these things were look’d
 “ upon as intolerable, and rejected,
 “ even in the most difficult times of
 “ the Republick: How much more in-
 “ tolerable then (with submission) is it,
 “ that such things should now be de-
 “ manded of us?” Thus he spoke. To
 the same effect, the States afterwards
 deliver’d in a Memorial to the King,
 by their Embassador, $\left. \begin{smallmatrix} 28 \text{ Jan.} \\ 7 \text{ Feb.} \end{smallmatrix} \right\} 1671-2$, so
 exactly like, in words and sense, to *De*
Wit’s letter, that it is plain they were
 both written by the same author. To
 these the King made answer, that he
 resented it very much, that *Cromwell’s*
 times were alledg’d to him; that the
 right of the flag was a very antient
 right of the Kings of *England*, and had
 been paid from the earliest times within
 the memory of man; not granted by
 any league or compact, much less by

one made with *Cromwell*; that he, the more easily to maintain his newly-gotten tyranny at home, did agree to any the most dishonourable conditions abroad; and sacrificed the rights of Monarchy to his unjust possession: That it was sufficient for a tyrant, if he gain'd any civility or courtesy from foreigners; but that a King of *England* would never accept of an honour so precariously given: That unless it was allow'd to be an absolute right, he wou'd never receive any thing from *Dutch* courtesy: That an honour arising from such a title wou'd not last long, but would be withdrawn the first opportunity. They should therefore know, that he requir'd the absolute dominion of the sea; not only the *British* sea, (as they wou'd have it) but farther northward, as far as *Norway*. They should remember that their fathers paid toll to *Charles* the First, in the years 1635-36-37, for the liberty of fishing within the seas of his dominion and empire, and therefore they struggled against it in vain; for he
wou'd

wou'd not accept the *honour*, except they acknowledg'd the *right* of the flag. Thus the *Dutch* being overcome, agreed to whatsoever conditions he pleas'd, again acknowledging our antient right, and extending our dominion at sea as far as *Norway*. The *French* King alone was against this league. His Ambassador *Ruvigny*, in a Memorial presented Jan. 25. 1674. complain'd that it was not just, by the articles of the alliance with *France*, to make a separate peace. But why did he not consider, that this very alliance was before violated by himself? For the Kings agreed chiefly upon that condition, that the peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, made in 1662, between *Spain* and *France*, concerning the limits of both Kingdoms, should be preserv'd: But nevertheless the *French* had made an irruption into *Flanders*, wherefore the King of *England* was not only releas'd from that alliance, which the *French* had broken, but was oblig'd, both in the defence of his Ally, (as the *Spaniard* was) and also in his own, to

defend *Flanders* by force of arms, against the *French*. Thus was this war, that had been basely begun by the Factious, justly, prosperously, and honourably ended, when they were remov'd from the administration.

But although this war with the *Dutch* being ended, the temple of *Janus* was shut in our part of the world; yet the same rage and contagion of war seiz'd all the other nations of *Europe*. Which passing from one nation to another, there was no nation but *Britain* alone, which did not feel and grieve for the worst calamities of war for four years together. For as the Most Christian King was more elated by his good success against the *Dutch*, being before a man of a very great spirit, and presumed that nothing would stand in his way; so the neighbouring Princes, astonish'd at his sudden greatness, betook themselves to their arms, by a common agreement. First, there was an alliance enter'd into between the Emperor of the *Romans*, the King of *Spain*,

and

and the United Provinces, upon a condition common to all alliances, That every thing should be done jointly, and by common consent of the Confederates : That no one should consult separately for himself : That each of them should stipulate for the same terms of peace for the others, as he should for himself ; neither should any of them make peace for himself, without procuring it for all. Thus the *Dutch* agreed with the *Spaniard*, by the 8th article, That they would not separately treat of a truce ; and that one would not agree to a cessation of arms without the consent of the other. By the 9th article, That one would not treat of a separate peace without the other, nor without making the same terms for their Ally, as for themselves. By the 16th article, That they would not make peace with the Most Christian King, before the Catholick King should be restor'd to the possession of all those places which were taken since the *Pyrenæan* treaty, in the year 1659 ; and particularly by

the 18th article, That they would deliver into his hands the city of *Maestricht*, with its dependencies, without any reserve. But there was not so strict a league struck with the Emperor, to whom (because at that time the *Turk* threaten'd the Empire) it was allow'd, by the 6th article, That if a war shou'd happen with the *Turks*, he might withdraw his forces from the confederate war against the Most Christian King, to defend his own country. To this triple alliance, the first that join'd himself, was the Duke of *Lorrain*, with whom it was agreed, by the 6th article, in these words:

“ That if things should break out into
 “ an open war, their Imperial and Ca-
 “ tholick Majesties, and the States Ge-
 “ neral, do jointly, and with the com-
 “ mon consent of all, engage their
 “ faith to his Serene Highness the Duke
 “ of *Lorrain*, that they will not begin
 “ to treat of a peace, or truce, with-
 “ out acquainting him with it; nor till
 “ they have at the same time procur'd
 “ for him necessary and sufficient power
 “ and

“ and security to send his Embassadors
“ to the place of treaty: That like-
“ wise they will from time to time
“ acquaint his Serene Highness with
“ every thing that shall happen in those
“ treaties; and that they will not come
“ into any agreement of peace or truce,
“ unless they can agree for the same
“ rights for him as for themselves; and
“ unless there be restor’d to him all the
“ lands, dominions, places, rights, im-
“ munities and prerogatives, which he
“ had in his Dutchy, when the *French*
“ last invaded him.” The same league
at the death of the Duke of *Lorrain*,
was voluntarily renew’d by the States
General, with *Charles* his nephew and
successor, after two years, in these
words: “ The States General, to all and
“ several whom it may concern, send
“ greeting. Whereas on the 1st day of
“ *July*, 1673. it was agreed by treaty
“ between their Imperial and Catholick
“ Majesties, and Our Selves, on one
“ part, and his Serene Highness the Lord
“ Duke of *Lorrain*, of glorious memo-

“ ry, on the other; Be it known to
 “ all, that the aforesaid agreement did
 “ not only relate to the person of the
 “ aforesaid Duke, but also comprehend-
 “ ed the Lords his Successors; We there-
 “ fore renew the same covenant, on
 “ our part, with the present Duke of
 “ *Lorrain*; nor will we agree to any
 “ treaty of peace, unless his Serene
 “ Highness be admitted into it, and un-
 “ less he is restor’d to all the rights
 “ which his uncle of glorious memory
 “ possess’d. To which we set our com-
 “ mon seal, this 11th day of *December*,
 “ 1675.

Next to the Duke of *Lorrain*, came
 into the same confederacy, the Dukes
 of *Brunswick* and *Lunenburgh* on $\frac{3}{4}$ of
June, 1674, by the 14th article. And
 at the same time the Elector of *Bran-*
denburgh, by the 20th and 24th articles.
 Then the King of *Denmark*, by the 18th,
 19th, and 20th. In the beginning of
 the following year, to wit, the 26th of
January, 1675. the Bishop of *Osna-*
burgh by the 14th. Towards the end of
 the

the same year, on the 16th of *October*, the Bishop of *Munster*, by the 8th. Lastly, the Prince *Palatine*, the 25th of *November*, 1676, by the 19th, though indeed somewhat late; and perhaps he had not acceded at all, had not his country been almost taken and spoil'd. For the first theatre of war was the *Palatinate* of the *Rhine*; a Province very severely tormented with war, if ever any country was, which had suffer'd great devastations in frequent battles in the *German* war of the former age.

The first battle, between those famous Commanders, Marshal *Turenne* on one side, and the Duke of *Lorraine* on the other, was fought with a great slaughter of men on both sides, but an even battle; and so, the Commanders being a match for each other, went off with great slaughter of their forces, the victory being claim'd on both sides, but not gain'd on either. In both armies, there were slain, in a few hours, above twenty thousand men. And had not night put a stop to their fury, since each

June 16.
1674.
Com-

Commander could not bear the thoughts of leaving the field, unless with conquest, the fight would not have ended in victory on either side, but a universal slaughter of both armies.

Aug. 11. With almost the same rage and event there was a battle fought under the Prince of *Orange* on one side, and the Prince of *Conde* on the other, till almost midnight, near *Seneff* in *Flanders*; hot and doubtful was the engagement; there was no retreat but in death, either army often giving back a little, but neither actually retiring.

First of all, the *French* coming upon them by surprize out of a wood, and attacking the enemy in the rear, put them to flight, taking all their artillery and baggage. But pursuing them that fled, till they join'd their own men, they were repuls'd with great slaughter; and were put to so precipitate a flight, that losing their booty, they hardly got into order again. Hereupon, when all things were set in order for a more equal battle, the fight was renew'd.

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The action was very hot; the Generals were present every where; commended those that behav'd themselves well, and severely reproach'd those that did not; and wherever there was any danger of retiring, oppos'd and stop'd it by their example; whence there was a fierce slaughter on both sides. For they fought with that fury, that at length being quite tired, and hardly able to bear their own arms, much less the strokes of the enemy (if indeed they were able to strike) they on both sides did not so properly sound a retreat, and go away in order, as voluntarily give over fighting, by the favour of the night intervening. Each army rather wondred at the obstinacy of their enemy, than boasted of their own victory. The *French* confess'd that there were four thousand of their men slain, and above ten thousand of their enemies. The end of the battle was such as might be expected between two Commanders that know their own courage, and cannot think of retiring.

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There was a third battle this year; in the same Province of the *Palatinate*, between the same armies, under the same Commanders, as the first. That also was such a battle as may be conceived between two armies that rival'd one another's fame and glory; for it was not yet determin'd concerning the success of the former battle, to which side the victory inclin'd. Since therefore the event of this one battle was to be the reward of both, they fought with double obstinacy. The engagement began in the morning, and continued with that heat to the evening as may be supposed between two armies inflam'd with anger, hatred, revenge, and emulation: Therefore the slaughter was so great that it did not seem to be a fight, but a perfect carnage. Nor did they part from one another, till both being weary with slaughter, retreated purely for want of necessary refreshment. In both armies there were lost at least twenty thousand; almost half the men that were in the action.

tion. In these dreadful slaughters, the year was spent; which could never have happen'd, had not opportunity and occasion been given for a war, by the breaking of the triple alliance: For the *French* King was not so mad as to dare, alone, to proclaim war against all *Europe*. But the alliance being broken, he presently began that war against the *Dutch*, which obliged all the people of *Europe*, from their several habitations far and wide, as far as the Christian world reaches, to defend themselves against him. Whence there was so vast a deluge of Christian blood, as perhaps was never before; at least if the short time in which so many wars were carried on, be compar'd with the greatness of the slaughters.

But when they had so often fought 1675. with equal strength and loss of men on both sides, their confidence in themselves, and contempt of their enemies, being now abated, they began to consider of peace, the King of *Great Britain* persuading and interposing; who
also

also offer'd himself as a guarantee of the treaty. They disputed long about the place of treaty; at length, two years after they agreed upon *Nimeguen*, a city in the Province of *Gelderland*. In the mean time, whilst the Embassadors of the Princes prepar'd themselves for their embassy (which is usually very long and tedious) the preparations for war went on the more, and were the greater, between enemies distrusting one another. The Confederates rais'd five armies: The first an Imperial, under the Count of *Montecuculi*, that was to encamp upon the *Rhine* in *Alsace*; the second, under the Duke of *Lorrain*, upon the *Moselle*; a third, under the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, against the *Swedes*; a fourth, of the Dutchy of *Lunenburgh*, and the Bishopricks of *Osnaburgh* and *Minden*; a fifth under the Prince of *Orange*, in *Flanders*: To which add the King of *Denmark*, with an army of above sixteen thousand, that were to come to aid the Elector of *Brandenburgh* against the *Swedes*. To these the

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Most Christian King made equal preparations. But at the very beginning of the war, the *French* affairs receiv'd two deadly blows. For when two Generals equal to one another, *Turenne* and *Montecuculi*, had almost spent the summer in trying to get convenient situations, after innumerable stratagems of war, they at length pitch'd their camps within gun-shot of each other. *Turenne* fortify'd his camp, that the enemy thinking him diffident of his strength, might be tempted to come on more readily, and with less caution. But when he had built two bridges over the *Rhine*, which flow'd between their camps, not far from *Strasburgh*, and had prepar'd every thing convenient for a battle, some pretended deserters told him that there was an ambush laid for him not far from the bridge. And he presently went with those who made this pretended discovery, to a convenient height of ground to see about him. In the mean time the enemy had hid two lesser field-pieces laden with

4 bullets,

bullets, in a thicket not far distant. Which being discharg'd while he was viewing, gave this great man such a wound in his breast that he expir'd that very moment. Thus died the most famous Commander of his age, both for conduct and courage; not above sixty four years old, when for more than thirty years he had born the high honour of Great Mareschal of *France*, with the highest character and glory of a great Commander. A man both of the greatest skill in military affairs, and of invincible courage; never overcome in a battle, and never, till his death, outdone in craft or stratagem. But so it was, that the scholar (for when he was young, he serv'd under *Montecuculi*, and was much belov'd by him, for his military accomplishments) was overcome by his master in that art which he had learn'd of him. The report of their General, or rather their Father being slain (for all that serv'd under him call'd him Father) being spread amongst the soldiers, they were struck at once with such

such grief and anger, that they could hardly be restrain'd by the authority of their officers from rushing in to the enemy with cheeks full of tears, and hearts full of revenge; for there was never any General dearer to his soldiers; for whom he corrected with his discipline, he oblig'd by his courtesy. He was severe if there was occasion, but never passionate or cruel; and, as far as became a General, he was pleasantly familiar with his soldiers. In the mean time the Generals, the rage of their soldiers somewhat abating, thinking that the matter would turn to fear and consternation, presently, a council being call'd, resolv'd to retire, and pass the *Rhine* with as much speed as they could. Which was done three days after, by night, the Count *de Lorge*, the Marechal's nephew, commanding the retreat, who tho' he manag'd it with excellent conduct and courage, yet he was so gauled by the enemy in his rear, that he hardly brought off half his army safe. The day after the *French* had left their

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camp,

camp, the *Germans* pursuing them briskly, a fierce battle was fought. They continued fighting from before noon, till sun-set, with great slaughter on both sides, and a doubtful battle. Of the *French* above six thousand, of the *Germans* three thousand were lost. But the *French* passing the *Rhine* after the battle, they came wearied and glad to their quarters in *Alsace*.

Almost at the same moment of time another melancholy express is brought from lower *Germany*, to the Most Christian King, of a victory obtain'd by the Duke of *Lorraine* and the Confederates, over Mareſchal *Crequi*: For when the Confederates had long beſieg'd the city of *Triers*, *Crequi* came to relieve it. *Lorraine* advancing with a sudden march from the opposite part of the city, came up with him at noon, and made as great a slaughter of his army as was at *Cannæ* or *Thraſymene*. Most of the horse, and all the foot were slain, and their artillery and baggage taken; and *Crequi*, with about six horse, fled thro' the

the midst of the enemy, with wonderful subtlety and courage, to *Triers*; *Lorrain* having overcome *Crequi*, whom that great old man hated most of all, as having been driven out of his country by him, did (as I may say) despise a longer continuance in life, and gladly breath'd out his soul full of just and generous revenge: And what could happen more pleasing to such a brave Commander as he was, than thus to die in the midst of victory? In the mean time, Marechal *Crequi* came opportunely to the besieg'd city, for the Count *De Vignor*, the Governour of the city, was kill'd some days before, the cannon continually thundring against the walls, several breaches were made. Nor could *Crequi*, being conquer'd, hope for aid. And moreover, the enemy's attack was much more violent after the victory than before. Yet *Crequi*, in these desperate circumstances, almost rebuilds the town; planting cannon upon the walls, he keeps off the enemy, wearies them with frequent sallies, and often beats

them off the ramparts, and forces them back into their camp. He repairs the shatter'd walls and towers, and raises new fortifications within, to strengthen the places most in danger. Neither night nor day did he cease from fighting and working; sometimes he breaks in upon their camp, and always succeeds in his sallies. At length, the enemy being wearied with so many battles and slaughters, on the first of *September* made a general assault upon the town. An attack was made at once in four places, by four several bodies; the besieg'd were beaten off the walls by the multitude of the enemies. The Confederates, the walls being taken, thinking the town was also taken, made an assault upon several places where the walls had been batter'd down, but were immediately driven out with great slaughter of their men, and presently dislodg'd from the walls. Nevertheless, three breaches being made forty foot wide, all but *Crequi* despair'd of making a farther defence. He therefore refusing,

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the rest, on the 5th of *December*, sent deputies to treat of articles for surrendering the city. And they agreed that they should have liberty to go under a guard to *Vetray*, the next *French* Garrison; and an oath was taken that they would not bear arms for three months; that the officers should go out arm'd on horseback, but that the rest should have only their swords. *Crequi* alone gave up himself as a prisoner of war at the enemy's discretion; with which greatness of mind, he not only recover'd the King's favour, but had more of it than ever; so that afterwards the chief command of the war was in his hands, as formerly it had been in *Turenne*. But the rest that surrendered were cashier'd, and their leader beheaded. For there is no law of war more sacred and important, than that a soldier should do nothing without his General's command, and much less against it; for if this law were taken away, military discipline must utterly cease. Therefore the whole army should rather have fallen with

their General in the ruins of the town, than have deserted him in desperation.

1676. By these several slaughters in one year, not only of his own forces, but also of his Allies (for the *Swedes* had ill success this year) the *French* King was more heartily inclin'd to peace. The King, being a man of great judgment and sagacity, foresaw that the weight of so great a war, if it should lie longer upon him than he himself desir'd, would over-bear him; therefore the war was afterwards carried on, not so much by battles as sieges, with various fortune.

Apr. 17. Early in the following spring, the city of *Conde* was suddenly besieg'd by the *French*, the Most Christian King himself directing the siege. Within nine days, and almost at the first attack, it was taken and plundered, altho' the garrison consisted of seventeen hundred men: For the King hearing that the Prince of *Orange* was coming with his whole army, with all possible speed, to relieve the town, his army being very numerous, made violent attacks in several

veral places at once; by one of which part of the wall was levell'd and broken down, and he took the town in a moment, and made all the besieged prisoners of war. But altho' the Prince of *Orange*, drawing out his men in order of battle, often challeng'd him to fight; yet being taught by the misfortunes of the former year, he would never go out of his camp to try the fortune of war; and he that was before so very eager, now grown more wary, could not be mov'd by any indignities, but chose rather to proceed by policy than battle.

Since therefore the *French* could not be drawn to a battle, the Prince of *Orange*, having made several marches and counter-marches, at length being wearied with moving about, fate down before *Maestricht* in lower *Germany*; and at the same time the Confederates besieg'd *Philipsburgh* in the upper. In both sieges there was the utmost obstinacy on either side, and consequently a vast destruction of men. In the mean time

Mareschal *De Humiers* besieg'd *Aire*, a city of *Artois*, and attack'd it with that rage of war, that even beyond his hope, (tho' he was a General very brave and secure) he took it within a few days. Still at the head of affairs, where any thing was to be put in execution; with an heroick vigour; one that durst encounter any dangers; of great presence of mind in any extraordinary emergency; indefatigable, and a very great favourite of the Duke of *York*, for his invincible bravery and firmness of soul. Hence, taking the strong fort of *Linck*, in his way, he advanced towards Mareschal *Schomberg*, by hasty marches. A man equal, and, if any other in the same army, was superior to him in courage, conduct, dispatch, and greatness of action; that with united forces they might raise the siege of *Maestricht*; for that had been attack'd and defended for two months and a half, with incomparable resolution and valour. The besieged were continually sallying, and the besiegers as constantly attacking; and frequent

quent actions happen'd, with terrible slaughter on both sides: Large forts were often taken by the enemy, and the enemy again beaten out of them by the besieged. But at length, when whatever the rage of war could do had been done on both sides, and the besieg'd had now nothing to hope for but from succours, the same moment the Mareschals appear'd; at which joyful sight, as the besieg'd conceiv'd new courage, so the enemy, their strength being broken in a long siege, calling a council of war, resolv'd rather to raise the siege, than try the fortune of a battle.

Thus matters went on in lower *Germany*. In the mean while, in the upper they fought (if possible) with greater rage and slaughter. At *Philipsburgh* every desperate attempt was tried, as is usual in a long siege. The Confederates at first coming, because it was not expected, took the fort that is between the city and the bridge over the *Rhine*. Which being taken, there was a way open

open for sending as many aids as they could want, to their army. The possession of this city was valu'd so much on both sides, that they immediately endeavour'd, with all their forces, and with the utmost expedition, to support the besiegers on one hand, and relieve the besieged on the other. In the mean time, the besiegers were encamped sooner than they could expect, the city was surrounded with lines of circumvallation, batteries were rais'd, eighty cannon planted, firing on both sides without intermission, sallies daily made by the besieg'd, the siege daily carried on more closely, and the ditch being fill'd up, reach'd almost to the walls. The news of which being brought to *Luxemburgh*, he advanced with an army of more than forty thousand men. But the Duke of *Lorraine* had posted the Imperial Army so conveniently before the city, that *Luxemburgh* despairing of relieving it, retir'd, without any action. In the mean while, the besieg'd lost not their spirits, continually making sallies:

fallies : but at length having thrown up breast-works, they agreed upon a general assault. When the Governour of the town, whose name was *Fay*, had declared that he would not think of surrendring on any terms ; but before the assault began they gave him notice of it. He call'd a council of war, and when almost all their powder was spent, and part of the wall was so broken down, that it could not any longer be maintain'd, and if it could, there was not garrison enough to defend it, there being but six hundred foot remaining, he sent to treat of conditions ; when it was agreed that the city should be surrendred upon these honourable terms : That the whole garrison, unless they were relieved in six days, should march out with their arms, colours flying, baggage, sound of trumpet, beat of drum, swords drawn, and with all their money, whether private or publick, and go to the town *Hagenau*, a garrison at a little distance, under a guard of both armies. Such honourable conditions did

did one generous enemy grant to another ; neither could better have been insisted on, or consented to, at the beginning of the siege, than were granted when the farther defence of the city was despair'd of. And these conditions were perform'd with the same courtesy and civility, as they were granted. For the Most Illustrious *Herman*, Prince of *Baden* (the chief Commander in the absence of *Lorrain*) came to meet the Governour, as he marched out, and leaping from his horse, he embrac'd him with the greatest expressions of respect, and begg'd the honour of his friendship for the future ; as a pledge of which he desir'd him to accept of a sword set with diamonds. The Governour answer'd, that he durst not receive a present from an enemy, unless he first had his Master's leave. Then the Prince desir'd the Governour to give him his sword. And the Governour made answer, that he could not refuse any thing to his Conqueror, and gave him his sword. “ Now (says the Prince) altho’
“ you

“ you are unwilling to receive gifts
“ from an enemy without the leave of
“ your King, yet without doubt his
“ Majesty, as he is a Prince of great
“ magnanimity, will not take it amiss
“ that friends should exchange the mu-
“ tual tokens and tests of their regard
“ to one another ;” and so he delivered
his sword stuck with diamonds into his
hand; which being receiv’d, he dismiss’d
him with great civility. Nor did the
King receive this brave man with less
favour; for as a reward of his gallant
behaviour, he soon after conferr’d upon
him the government of *Brisack*, another
town in *Alsace*, with a very great an-
nual stipend. These were the trans-
actions of this year, between the *French*
and the Confederates. Nor were fewer
lives lost in the sieges of this year, than
in the battles of the last. But yet death
is not satisfy’d with the sacrifices of so
many great men, for at the same time
that all were treating of peace, all were
the more intent and eager upon their
preparations for war.

1677. In the beginning of the next year, before it was yet the season for taking the field, the Most Christian King, according to his usual expedition, sat down before *Valenciennes*, a city in *Hainault*, and a very strong one, with a great army, on the 10th day of *March*; the same night they open'd their trenches, and the works were finish'd before the fifth day; and the day following, he order'd a general storm, dividing his army into four bodies, which, the signal given, on every part they scaled the walls immediately. This was done with such fury, that almost at the first shout they dislodg'd the besieg'd from the outward fortifications, and follow'd them with such heat to the inward works, that they gave them no power to recover themselves: Being driven from the fortifications, they retir'd to the city; the *French* pouring in amongst the crowd, at once seized the gate and the walls, and turning their cannon upon the city, the besieg'd were so terrify'd that soon throwing down their arms, they

they entirely submitted themselves to the discretion of the Conqueror. The King put a stop to the rage of his men by his own command, and sav'd the city from being plunder'd. Thus was this city reduc'd, without any other change in the condition of it, but that of its Master. From hence he immediately march'd with his whole army to *Cambray*, a city of the same Province; before which he came on the 22^d of the same month; and having made all preparations for a siege, he made so vigorous an attack, that the town being taken on the first of *April*, the enemy retir'd into the castle, which, altho' it was very strong, he took before the 20th day, granting the enemy most honourable conditions.

At the same time he besieg'd *St. Omers*, a city of *Artois*, by his illustrious brother the Duke of *Orleans*. But the Prince of *Orange*, highly provok'd by so many conquests obtain'd by the enemy, came with all speed to relieve his Allies. The *French* expected him; and as soon as
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he came, a dreadful battle began : From ten of the clock in the morning, to sun-setting, they fought with great fury and carnage on both sides; at least sixteen thousand were kill'd, when the Prince, because his soldiers, being wearied with the length of their march, could not endure any more fatigue, founded a retreat. But now all access for succours to come being intercepted, the besieged were more furiously attack'd than before; and two days after that the castle of *Cambray* was taken by the King, the city of *St. Omers* surrendered upon the same conditions. Both armies being wearied with these frequent battles and sieges, retreat to their quarters, and being refresh'd they renew the campaign. First of all, the Prince of *Orange* closely besieg'd, with all his forces, *Charleroy*, a fortress in *Flanders*, in the beginning of the month of *August*: But the Duke of *Luxemburgh* immediately approaching with an army of above forty thousand, before the Prince's artillery arrived, the siege was rais'd, by the advice

vice of the council of war, though the Prince was very unwilling, and wou'd not consent to it for six hours.

Almost at the end of the year, about the beginning of *November*, Mareschal *De Humiers* besieg'd *St. Guislain*, a town of *Hainault*, in lower *Germany*, with a bravery suitable to his nation and person; he took it on the 11th day, by surrender. Thus all the wars of this year were at an end, and all to the advantage of the *French*.

And their success was as great the next year; for the *French*, as usual, were 1677[?] skimming the fields like so many swallows in the beginning of the spring; for Mareschal *De Humiers*, the King with him, on the 7th of *March*, laid siege to *Ghent*, a city of *Flanders*, and in four days he took the town, and three days after the castle. On which day the Mareschal *De Lorge* besieg'd *Ipres*, a city thirteen leagues distant from *Ghent*, to the West. And altho' it was resolutely defended, yet it was taken by capitulation, on the 16th of the same month. On the 2^d of *May*,

the Governour of *Maestricht*, with four hundred horse, and five hundred foot, commanded by *Mellac*, took the castle and town of *Leew*, the key of *Brabant*, by surprize. On the first of *June* there was a truce between *France* and *Holland* agreed to for six weeks. But in the mean time, the war went on with the *German* and *Spaniard*. So the Duke of *Noailles*, General of the *French* army in *Catalonia*, against the *Spaniard*, besieged the city *Puyfard*; which *Gusman* the Governour of the city defended with a true *Roman* resolution; nor would he listen to any conditions of surrender, till he was informed by an officer whom he sent out to get intelligence, by the permission of the enemy, that the forces sent to relieve him were retir'd: And then, despairing of succour, he surrendered upon honourable conditions on the last of *May*.

But the fiercest battle of this year was in upper *Germany*, between those excellent Commanders, *Crequi* and *Starembergh*: For the *French* and *German* army

army having lain encamp'd a long time within a few miles distance of each other, *StareMBERgh*, the *Marcellus* of this age, brooking no delay, the Emperor's leave obtain'd, advanc'd nearer, with six thousand men, being permitted to fight at his discretion. He was a man of great activity, and inured to war, and could not command himself, but must dare the enemy, tho' with a little army. *Crequi* first sent out an equal number of his men, and then advanced with the whole army towards them, when that detachment was too weak to sustain the shock of the enemy. *StareMBERgh* made a stand for some hours, but at length, being over-power'd by numbers, retir'd to his camp. And as the warmest part of the action had happen'd at the bridge of *Rhenfield*, in which town *StareMBERgh* had his quarters; on the one hand, to prevent the enemy's breaking into the town, and on the other, that the enemy passing the bridge might plunder the place; there was a great slaughter on both sides,

many were slain, and more drown'd. After an hour and a half, the *Germans* were driven into the town, and the enemy enter'd it at the same time, but were so warmly receiv'd, that they were soon oblig'd to retreat over the bridge. Which being broken down by the *Germans*, the battle was ended with equal loss of men, tho' not with the same heat and gallantry of action. A battle certainly suitable to the greatness of *Starembergh*, a man born for the preservation of *Christendom*: For had it not pleased Providence to send *Starembergh* into the world so opportunely in our age, it is to be fear'd that a great part of the Christian world must have submitted to the *Turkish* yoke: For had the city of *Vienna* been taken in 1683, before the Confederate armies had joined one another (and no body but *Starembergh* could have defended that city so long) there had been an open and easy entrance to have come into all the Provinces of *Germany*. But when I recollect with my self his daily
fatigues,

fatigues, through the whole course of that siege, I think my self rather amazed at a prodigy, than reflecting upon a fact, and question whether it is a reality or a dream. But thus it happens in every age, that God sends some extraordinary men into the world, to shine with a distinguishing glory. Thus *Starembergh*, altho' otherwise a man great in himself, and eminent for his great actions, yet unless heaven had design'd him for that post, very few of his friends had escaped with life. But now a bright immortality attends his character; and may he long survive to enjoy the remembrance of such glorious actions; and may it please him to accept this small testimony of gratitude for his rescuing the Christian world,

Thus went affairs between the *French* and the *Germans*, when in the mean time all things seem'd to look towards peace, between the *Dutch* and the *French*. For the King of *Great Britain*, in 1674, on *June* the 3^d, all *Europe* being now in a flame, having offer'd his good offices

and mediatorship for a general peace, his offer was by common consent accepted, tho' neither party seem'd much inclin'd to measures of peace. Hence time was spun out in delays as much as possible: They disputed first about the place of treaty, and after a year spent upon that point, they resolv'd at last upon *Nimeguen* in *Gelderland*. Two years more were taken up by way of preparation, as also in the business of settling preliminaries, letters of safe conduct, titles of Embassadors, the ceremonies of the Congress, and the like. And they did not begin to treat of peace in earnest, till the 15th of *March*, 1677, when the *French* King, who had hitherto protracted affairs as long as he could (as he was indeed a man no less dexterous and expert in the managing of treaties, than pushing a war, two great qualifications and accomplishments of a King and a Soldier) began to treat separately with the *Dutch*. And amongst other terms of peace which he propos'd to them, he stipulated to deliver

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ver up to them, as a token of his friendship, the town of *Maestricht*, with all its rights and dependencies. But in the mean time still he goes on besieging.

The King of *England*, when he saw that he and his mediatorship were thus trifled with, and that the Provinces of *Flanders* next to his own dominions would soon fall into the hands of *France*, at the pressing instances of the Parliament (with what sincerity shall be said hereafter, in its proper place) enter'd into an alliance with the *Dutch*, in the beginning of the following year.

When the King of *France* was informed of this, he immediately, on the 15th of the next month, of his own accord, sent his terms to the Congress, upon which, and no other, he declar'd he would come to an agreement. First of all, he demands the same conditions for his Allies as for himself; for the *Swede* and the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, that all the places taken in the war should be restor'd to them; for the Bishop of *Strasburgh*, the rights of his Bishoprick;

for his brother, the Prince of *Furstembergh*, his liberty; and lastly, that certain places being restor'd to the King of *Spain*, all the Province of *Burgundy*, *Valenciennes*, *Conde*, *Cambray*, *St. Omers*, *Ipres*, *Aire*, and other lesser towns, should be his; and this compact was to stand, if it was made before the 10th of *May*; otherwise to be void and null.

But when these high demands of his were made to no purpose (for even the Ministers Mediators would not so much as propose them to the Allies) and great preparations were made in *England* and *Holland* for war, both by land and sea, the Most Christian King, by letters sent from his camp near *Deinse*, dated *May* the 18th, tried the *Dutch* to bring them to a separate peace; for by several things he perceived that they were more inclin'd to peace than the rest, not only by the complaints which they had made so plentifully a little before, to *Spain* and *England*, that they were not able to support a longer war; but also by *Be-verning* their Embassador, who had pri-
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vily told the *French* Ministers, that the States General would accept the terms of peace offer'd, provided they should be in no danger from the conquest of *Flanders*, if the *Spaniard* should stand out.

He promises them, that if they would stand neuter, he will receive them into his former friendship, and whatsoever might happen, he would give over all war in the United Provinces. They humbly giving thanks by letters, embrace the King's mercy, sending also *Beverning* to ask the King's farther kindness. The King answered, him that he was glad that they had discovered such a good disposition for peace; by which as they would be great benefactors to the Christian world, so they gave him the highest pleasure: That there was nothing more at heart with him, than the sparing Christian blood; that therefore it was matter of the greatest joy to him, to find them as piously inclined: That he would agree to a truce of six weeks, in which time they might try
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to bring their Allies into the same measures. But if they should be averse to restoring the peace of *Europe*, he stipulated with the *Dutch*, that they should no longer prosecute the war. The States declar'd to their Allies what they themselves would do; and that unless they would come into the same conditions of peace, they would treat separately for themselves. And each of the Confederates, in their Memorials presented on the 10th of *June*, upbraided them with their treachery, in this matter. First of all, his Imperial Majesty's Embassadors expostulated: And the same was done with bitterness enough by the other Ministers of the Confederates. But the States persisted; for that their affairs would admit of no delay, with regard to peace; and therefore all parties in confederacy must agree out of hand, or else the States must make a bargain for themselves. On the 20th day of the same month, there was another conference, in which the Confederates complain'd more than ever: But the

the Embassador of the Duke of *Lorrain* the most of all; who by his Master's command, and in his name, refus'd, with the greatest indignation, to treat at all, upon such wretched conditions as were offer'd to his Serene Highness; and at the same time, he adjured the Allies that justice should be done his Master by all the ties of religion and faith. "But if (says he) there be no faith in man, (and there can be none, if after so many alliances and agreements he be deserted by his Allies) a free banishment appears more eligible to his Serene Highness, than a servile dominion." But the States being not at all affected either with the reproaches or hardships of their Allies, two days after commanded their Ministers to sign the peace. Which being now concluded between the *Dutch* and the *French*, (as they thought fit themselves) so the posture of affairs being broke in *England*, the Parliament importuning the King to disband the army, on a sudden, when they came to sign, the *French*

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King being ask'd at what time he would quit the places taken from the *Spaniard*? he answer'd, " Not before the Province
 " of *Pomerania*, and all the places taken from the *Swedes* were restor'd to
 " them.

By this new and unexpected demand, all affairs were again confounded; the Confederates were in pain about the disbanding of the *English* army; for if that should go on, the state of things in *Flanders* would be desperate: But if not, it would still be in their power to insist upon their demands. The army happening not to be disbanded, thro' the constancy of the King, and contrary to the hopes of *France*, the Confederates took heart again, and even the States threw themselves into the bosom of the King of *Great Britain*, as for protection and sanctuary; and cancelling all agreement with the *French*, they entered into a new alliance with *England*, That unless the King of *France* would accept the conditions of peace offer'd to him, before the 11th of *August*, and deliver

deliver up all the places taken by him, they would on that very day declare a confederate war against him, and not give over, till by the power of their arms they had compelled him to agree to a fair and honourable peace.

France demurs, and contrives reasons for delay, and pretends to offer I know not what expedients to gain time; but when he saw that he could avail nothing, he permitted the *Swedish* Embassadors to entreat him to prefer the peace of *Europe* before the particular interest of their Nation. Not that they were ignorant what was for their interest; but because they knew that the *Dutch* breaking off from the Confederacy, and the *English* being deserted by them, the *French* King could afterwards impose what conditions he pleas'd upon the rest of the Confederates. And this they found to be true, when he commanded that all the places that were taken by the *Dane*, and the Elector of *Brandenburg*, should be restor'd to the *Swede*. Thus at length, on the 11th day late at night,

night, a second separate peace was sign'd between the *French* and the *Dutch*. The Confederates were strangely surpriz'd, and the whole scene was turn'd into indignation. All remonstrated vehemently, especially the *English* Mediators, who not only refused to sign, but order'd their names to be struck out of the instrument, for that they were sent by their King to the Congress, to procure a general peace for *Europe*, not a particular one for the *Dutch*. And soon after, on the 25th of the same month, *Laurence Hyde*, the Ambassador Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiary, was sent to the *Hague*, to complain to the States General, That whereas they had now twice implor'd assistance from his King, when they had engaged their faith, that they would not accept of any peace, but what he should think was just; when the King had declar'd that he would ratify no peace, unless the same was also made with the *Spaniard*; they had privily, and by stealth, at midnight, broken their faith to him and all their

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Confederates; nor had they insisted upon any security for the restoring the places to the *Spaniard*; and they had favour'd the *French* King with new terms, by giving him *Beaumont*. That by these things the conditions of the league last made with *England* were basely broken, by which both of them were oblig'd to declare and carry on a war against the *French*. And if they refus'd, he would immediately proclaim it himself; and so he transported forces to *Flanders*, with all possible expedition. To all this, the *Dutch* replied, That they gave the King thanks for his great kindnesses to them, that they would take upon them the peace between the *French* and *Spaniard*, and would insist upon what terms he should like. And if the *French* King should refuse them, it would be afterwards in their power to keep up the alliance with *Great Britain*, against him; and they would on the very day appointed for peace, proclaim war against him.

Thus

Thus this whole affair, that was concerted and confirmed by so many solemn leagues and obligations, was turn'd into mockery: Since, the *Dutch* having made their peace, the *Spaniard*, who at that time was not in a condition to pursue the war, could refuse no terms; nor indeed, as the case stood, did he so properly treat for himself, as receive those conditions which the *Dutch* impos'd upon him. So that it was not so much a treaty of peace, as a total surrender.

Thus the league was made (such as it was) by means of the *Dutch* (for the *English* Mediators had renounc'd that office) on the 17th of *September*.

And so, at last, a separation of the Allies being begun, the Confederates fell off, one after another, for the defence of their country, and accepted of the best terms that they could get.

But it happen'd very unfortunately, that on the very day that the articles of peace between the *French* and *Dutch* were sign'd and exchange'd, the sharpest

battle of all was fought by them, not knowing that the peace was confirm'd. The Duke of *Luxemburgh* had a long time closely besieg'd the city of *Mons* in *Hainault*. And the besieg'd sending a message to the Prince of *Orange*, told him, that they were so straitned, that unless he could come to their aid immediately, they must surrender upon very bad terms. The Prince making no delay, was there in a moment; and when he had pitch'd his camp in a place convenient, and strong by nature, he with sudden force attack'd the enemy, being secure and thoughtless of a battle. The fight began a little after noon, and was not ended till night; and never was battle fiercer, every one either killed his man that encountred, or lost his own life under his hands; and all those that fell, died upon the spot. Above twelve thousand were kill'd, without either flight, or disadvantage of the battle on either side.

But the far greatest slaughter was in that wing of the army in which the

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Britons stood: For the Earl of *Ossory*, the eldest son of the Most Illustrious Duke of *Ormond*, most like his father in military greatness, as well as in other things, commanded a body of six thousand *English* and *Scotch*, divided into six regiments. He chose that post to fight in where indeed there was most danger from the enemy, by reason of the difficulty of the attack: And he attack'd them with such warmth, that altho' they resisted with equal resolution, yet he did at length, step by step, force them from their ground, tho' fortified by its natural situation. He moved at the head of his men, as an example to them, he first attack'd the enemy, and was one of the first in mounting their works: If his men were in the least disorder, he spurred up to them, and rallied them again, and brought them on, by his own example. And as he fought against the choicest troops of the *French* army, against the very guards of the King's body, against the King's and the Dauphin's own troops, and even

even against the most famous troop of all, the royal Marines, it could not be but they engaged with great slaughter on both sides. Most of the soldiers were kill'd, few officers escap'd; of our side thirty were kill'd, and an equal number wounded. But how many of the enemy, they would never own, though they confess'd that there was a very great slaughter. This brave commander entred every battle with such firmness of mind, as if he would never come off alive, if he were not Conqueror. Nor was he more ambitious of victory than danger: Wheresoever there was most occasion for courage, he challeng'd that as his post. In every action he would have always the first and greatest share; and moreover, no less a celebrated Admiral than General. In the first war against the *Dutch*, he fought as a voluntier in every battle, and behav'd himself so gallantly, that the King soon gave orders that he should be a flag officer. In every engagement, he was always the greatest

terror to the enemy. For when he made an attack, immediately rushing into their main body, he broke their ranks, and fought so close, that he confounded them at the very first onset, and put them to flight. Whatever ship he fought with (and if it was in his power, he chose to attack an Admiral) he either took or sunk. He was always the first that return'd into harbour with his ship shatter'd, and himself a Conqueror; with which greatness of soul he made himself master of his friends, as well as his enemies; he was the idol of all the forces he commanded; the sea-men ador'd him, as if he had been a god of their element; for his generosity was as great as his courage: He distributed among them great sums of his own money: If any one had distinguish'd himself by a gallant action, he rewarded him according to his merit out of his own purse. He was also popular for his hospitality, keeping a splendid table at his own expence, which was open to every one. He was dearer to
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mankind for his humanity, than even *Titus* himself. He convers'd with his soldiers with an easy behaviour, as if they had been his companions. He was familiar, mild, and courteous to every one; a true friend to merit, not touch'd with any tincture of pride, which is sometimes a failing in Nobility. Being adorn'd with these virtues, never was any General dearer to his soldiers, never did soldiers behave so well under any Commander as under him. For so it is, that the state of war depends in a great measure upon the example of the General; when he dares to attempt any thing, they are asham'd to be afraid of it. Yet this great man, that escap'd so many dangers, was suddenly taken from us in the flower of his age, by a malignant fever, to the great grief of his country, but to its much greater loss.

Thus this almost ten years war was clos'd with this bloody battle; and the peace was seal'd with the blood of so many thousands; as if *Mars* had been

conscious that his empire was almost at an end, and resolv'd to make himself secure of the slaughter of this day before the peace was finish'd. At the same time broke out two conspiracies; one of Count *Tekeli* in *Hungary*, and another of *Oates* in *England*. But perhaps of these hereafter. In the mean while, let us return to the rest of the wars in *Europe*, that were occasion'd merely by the breach of the triple alliance.

For tho' the Southern parts of *Europe* miserably suffer'd, yet much greater was the storm of war that fell upon the North; where the first trial of skill was between the *Swede* and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, for the Province of *Pomerania*; in which, in the first battle there was a great victory obtain'd over the *Swedes*, their canon being taken, and more than four thousand of their men killed, (in the beginning of *July*, 1675) whereas there was not half that number of the enemy kill'd. The conqueror pursuing his enemy for five days
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together, drove him almost out of the borders of *Pomerania*. This was the first turn of fortune. For the *Swede*, the triple alliance being so basely broken, at which he was highly incensed, enter'd into an alliance with the *French* King. As therefore the one carried on the war in the South, so the other did in the North: But with different success, for *Pomerania* being lost to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, and *Schonen* to the *Dane*, the *Swedes* would have despair'd even of their kingdom, had not the *French* given a check to the conquerors. The *Dane* and *Brandenburgh* join'd forces, both eminent Commanders, who headed their own troops, warriors equally skillful and brave. These broke in so far upon the country of the *Swedes*, from opposite quarters, that before the end of the war, they almost join'd hands in the very bowels of the nation. *Brandenburgh* took by surrender *Wolgast*, a strong town of hither *Pomerania*, under the *Swedish* jurisdiction, within ten

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days

days (*Nov. 10.*) at the same time the *Dane* besieg'd *Wismar*, a very strong city of the Duchy of *Mecklenburgh*. And when by the common preparation for a siege, he was advanced so near to the city, that he could attack it with all his forces together, he with invincible courage attempted and effected his design; for in the depth of winter, the trenches full of water, in the midst of continual frost and snow, in a *moonless* night, the King leading on his men, attack'd the fortifications with such fierceness, that the besieg'd being beaten off within two hours, and the greatest of the forts taken, the besieg'd sent to desire conditions of surrender; which being granted, the King took possession of the town the next day.

1676. At the end of the following year, a sharp and bloody battle was fought near *Lunden*, a city of *Schonen*; for it is the custom of those Northern countries to take the field even in the winter season, when the rivers, and the very arms of the sea being frozen over, can afford

afford a convenient passage for their armies. The *Dane* had closely besieged, for some months, *Malmoe*, a city of *Schonen*, formerly belonging to the *Danish* dominions, but taken by *Charles Gustavus*, King of *Sweden*, in the year 1658. To raise this siege, the *Swede* comes at length, with an army of twenty thousand men. Early in the morning, he reach'd the enemy's camp, and fell upon their left wing. They fought briskly for some time, but at last the *Danes* gave way; their horse were put to flight, the greatest part of their foot kill'd, and their cannon taken. In the mean while, the right wing of the *Danish* army, which the King, with his brother Prince *George*, commanded, attacking the left wing of the enemy, they fought with the utmost resolution. The battle was doubtful for some hours, but at length the *Swedes* not sustaining the shock, were put to flight. Not only the enemy's cannon were taken, but also their own were recover'd; and the *Danes* remain'd masters

ters of the field; and their other wing had an opportunity of rallying. This renew'd the action with double obstinacy; nor did it end till night. Thus they retired with equal slaughter on both sides, the *Swedes* having recover'd their cannon before sun-set. The King of *Denmark*, throughout the battle, performed the part not only of an active commander, but even of a common soldier: He advanc'd eleven times with his own body against the enemy; and his brother Prince *George* rushing into the midst of the enemy with too much heat, and being inclos'd by them, with difficulty brought himself off to his own men. If there was any advantage in this bloody battle, it seem'd to be on the side of the *Swedes*, because they rais'd the siege; otherwise, above ten thousand men were slain, without any advantage. And the same summer they tried again the chance of war. In the

July 23.
1677. month of *July*, the left wing of the *Danish* army being routed again, the King himself commanding the right, gave

gave a new turn to the battle. Thus things past at land; but at sea, fortune more favour'd the *Danes*; for a little before, about the beginning of the same month, their fleets engaged; the *Swedish* consisting of six and thirty ships, the *Danish* of twenty four. They strove a long time for the advantage of the wind, which the enemy taking, when the *Dane* could not obtain it, he broke thro' the midst of the enemy's fleet, of which *Juell* was Admiral, a man both experienc'd in sea-affairs, and eminent for his courage. Nor did he only break thro' the enemy's lines, but he got the wind of them: And tho' he was very unequal to them in number, yet he behav'd himself with that courage and conduct, that one and twenty of the enemy's ships being destroy'd, and the rest put to flight, he return'd Conqueror into port, laden with naval spoils. About the same time, the city *Stetin*, the capital of *Pomerania*, being besieg'd by the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, exceeded the fury of *Crequi's* battle, and almost

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that

that of *Saguntum*, in their defence. The enemy fate down before the town in *July*, and it being strongly fortified attack'd it with uncommon fierceness, but was repuls'd with much greater by the besieg'd. Sallies were daily made, the works continually disturb'd, fires laid to the fortifications, and the trenches fill'd up. They attempted every thing which men could do, having bound themselves by an oath, that they would sooner die, than submit to any conditions of surrendry. Many works were cast up within, that the outer-works being taken, the city might be defended by others within, and even the ruins of the houses piled up as high as towers, and every house was turn'd into a sort of citadel. Thus the enemy found they were besieging several cities in one. The enemy on their part rais'd opposite works round about. On these batteries above seventy mortars were placed; from whence they flung bombs into the city night and day. These set the city on fire in several places, so that it

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was soon reduc'd to ashes, and buried in its own ruins. In the mean time, there appeared greater resolution in the towns-men than in the soldiers. If any one spoke of a surrender, they immediately stabb'd him. They oblig'd the Governour himself to swear, that he would not offer or receive any conditions; and they themselves in their turns kept guard. It is reported, that when a towns-man, keeping guard upon the walls, was told by his servant that his wife and children were kill'd by a bomb, he commanded him to take care that they should be decently buried, for he could not leave his post, but could with more ease part with his own life for the preservation of his country, than receive the news of their death. At length the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, when he found that no relief was sent to the besieg'd, and was told by deserters, that the city was buried in its own ruins, being mov'd with pity, voluntarily sent them honourable conditions of surrendry, threatening to

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proceed to extremity, if they refus'd them. They gave the Elector thanks for his great condescension, and besought him to make no mention of a surrender, because they were bound by oath not to yield to any; and if they were reduc'd to extremity, they should not despair of the mercy of so generous a Conqueror. So when the gates were demolish'd, they fill'd up the breach. When their walls had been often blown up by their mines for sixty foot together, the enemy attack'd them in the breach; the citizens fought them from their works, breast to breast, before their walls, and made such a strange and unexpected resistance, that they drove the enemy back over the ruins of the town, and pursued them, affrighted and trembling, even to their camp. They still went on filling up several times the breaches with high parapets. The enemy quite wearied out with so many battles and assaults, procured assistance from the *Dane*. When these were arrived, the Elector of *Brandenburgh* prepar'd

prepar'd every thing for a general storm; yet he forbore, out of compassion to such brave men; so he attack'd them again with threats, that they should suffer extremities, unless they surrender'd, for that he had offer'd them the most honourable conditions. They a long time stood unmoveable, till finding themselves quite destitute of powder, they sent out deputies to treat of a surrendry. His Electoral Highness, a Prince of a great and generous spirit, granted more than they desir'd; he not only granted them the privileges which they enjoy'd under the *Swede*, to whom they fell by the right of war, but most indulgently renew'd their antient ones, which they possess'd under their own Princes, the Dukes of *Pomerania*. He gave them the liberty of fishing for ten years, without laying any tax upon them. Neither did he require any thing of the conquer'd, but that the inhabitants should build their Parish-Churches; and he promis'd to build their Cathedral at his own expence. A victory truly worthy

thy of so great a Commander, not only to gain a conquest over their bodies, but over their minds. He embrac'd the bravery and magnanimity of the men, and wish'd he might never want such subjects, not doubting but that they would pay him invincible fidelity. In the beginning of the siege there were three thousand soldiers, besides a vast multitude of citizens : But the soldiers that marched out after the surrender, were not above two hundred ; there were two thousand three hundred killed, the rest were kept from marching by their wounds ; and how many towns-men perished, since they made the most resistance, we must compute from the number of the soldiers. Above half the enemy's army fell ; they themselves confessed that they had lost twelve thousand, the greatest slaughter perhaps upon record, but such as might be expected between enemies, who engag'd on both sides with a resolution either to conquer, or die gloriously.

The next year the fortune of the war was various and changeable : Early in the spring, Count *Coningsmark*, General of the *Swedish* army, made a sudden descent upon the Isle of *Rugen*, a part of the *Danish* dominions : Which being attempted in the night, he landed two thousand horse, and three thousand foot, without any molestation from the enemy, who did not expect them ; and having pitch'd his camp, he challeng'd the *Danes* to a battle, when they could hardly believe that there was an enemy in the island. When the battle was begun, at the first motion of the troops, *Rumer* the *Danish* General was shot with a bullet, and fell, in the sight of both armies. Upon this the *Danes* fell into disorder and consternation, and the *Swedes* were exceedingly animated. It indeed prov'd very fatal to the *Danish* interest, that the army being compos'd of several nations, the Generals quarrell'd amongst themselves for the chief command ; which being observ'd by the *Swedes*, they with a vigorous attack

beat them out of their ranks, and having put them into the utmost confusion press'd them so furiously that they put them to flight; their artillery and baggage were taken. There were seven thousand *Danes*, but being shut up in an island, they were all either taken or kill'd, excepting a few officers, who taking boats committed themselves to the waves. The *Swedes* were so emboldned by this unexpected favour of fortune, that they soon sat down with all their forces before *Christianstad*, a strong town in the Province of *Bleking*, and belonging to the *Danes*, which at length they took by surrender, after a long siege, and all preparations for a storm.

But this was the end of the *Swedish* good fortune, almost as soon as it began: For in the following month, the *Dane* and *Brandenburgher* made a sudden descent upon the Isle of *Rugen*, in several places. The *Swedes* were affrighted by the great number of the enemy, and flying to the sea-coast, pass'd over
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in boats and pinnaces to *Straelsund* in *Pomerania*; great part of them were drown'd, above a thousand men, and three thousand horses were taken; the Elector of *Brandenburgh* follow'd them to *Straelsund*, and sat down before the town; and the next month after he took it by surrender, altho' *Coningsmark* exerted himself to the last, with all the bravery of *Crequi*. Thence marching to *Gripfswald*, he besieg'd and took it. And thus he made himself master of all *Pomerania*, for this was the last place he reduced.

The year following, making an in- 1679.
cursion into *Prussia*, he routed the *Swedes* in three battles, and the whole army of the enemy being almost destroy'd, he drove them out of the borders of the Province with great slaughter of the defeated. The *Swedish* affairs being now almost desperate, the Most Christian King immediately put himself forward, declaring that he would have no regard to the league lately made among the Princes of *Europe*, unless the King of

Sweden was admitted into the same terms of peace. He therefore demands that the Elector of *Brandenburgh* should restore to the *Swede* the cities which he had taken in *Pomerania*, as himself had restor'd to the *Spaniard* the cities that he had taken in *Flanders*. His Electoral Highness opposes it, and the *French* King insists upon it, and threatens to invade his dominions, except it be presently done. In the mean time, till a proper opportunity could be obtain'd for a treaty of peace, there was a truce agreed upon for six months, by his own mediatorship. The Elector deferring his compliance, and the time of the truce being at an end, the *French* King made an incursion into the dominions of *Brandenburgh*. Which done, his Electoral Highness being before deserted by his Allies, and knowing himself alone to be no match for his enemy, readily accepted of the terms of peace that were offer'd, excepting only that he strove to keep, as a reward of his labours, the city of *Stetin*, which had cost

cost him so dear. The *French* King abated nothing; but all things must be restor'd, *not a hand's breadth of land excepted*. Thus this great Prince, necessity compelling, after such dreadful fatigues of war, had *nothing but his labour for his pains*.

And now the *Dane* remain'd alone in the war; and altho' at the same time he, by his ministers, treated of peace with the *Swedes*, yet the conference was without success. For the *French* King commanded his army to march out of *Westphalia*, to lay waste the county of *Oldenburgh*, which was a part of the *Danish* dominions, unless they presently closed the war. By which means he did not so properly treat of peace, as command it. Thus the *Danish* King, a man of a great soul, being oblig'd by the same irresistible law as the Elector of *Brandenburgh* had been, sign'd the peace with the same anger and indignation as he would have surrendred to the enemy. But these two brave Princes, who were become Lords of the

North by their own valour, did afterwards inveigh more sharply against their Allies, than against the enemy, publishing Memorials, in which they charg'd them with treachery, and breach of faith.

And thus the Confederates came to an agreement, not only without the consent of their Allies, but even against their incessant desires and protestations. For the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, by his Embassadors that were sent to the Diet of *Ratisbon*, protested against the peace that was made without his consent, by all the ties of Religion, laws of Nations, of War, of Alliances, and of the Empire: For it was not lawful by the oath of alliance; and it was still in the power of the Diet to repeal the agreement; and he would bring an army of eight and twenty thousand men into *Germany*, in defence of the Imperial jurisdiction; and it was base to accept of such mean and hard conditions from an enemy, now broken and almost vanquish'd. The Diet a long time
defer'd

deferr'd their assent; but at length, even they also submitted to the arbitrary power of necessity. The same Prince, particularly enraged against the States, wrote to them to this effect: That he beheld the calamitous state of affairs, in that part of his dominions which lies in the circle of *Westphalia*, he did not so much blame his enemy, as conceive the utmost detestation of the treachery of his Allies, on whose account all this had befallen him; who, when they knew that he was so much distressed, not only sent him no succours, but made a peace, entirely abandoning their Ally to the mercy of his enemy. And thus the whole weight of the war fell upon him, who had been no ways concern'd in it, if he had not pitied their wretched condition, and come to their relief, when they were perishing. That he wondred at their ill conduct, in that they beheld his ruin, without being concerned, or rather being pleas'd with the sight; altho' he had with great labours, dangers and expences, saved them

from present destruction; as if this was a worthy recompence suitable to the labour and kindness that he had so ill bestow'd. That it would make him even sick to complain of the several losses that he had sustain'd, because he would not let them be ruin'd, particularly while in the very sight of their forces. With what desolation were the Dukedom of *Cleve*, the Earldom of *Marck*, and the Cities of *Ravensperg* and *Minden* laid waste, while he was engaged in distant wars in the North. That he had often complain'd of these things by his Embassadors, and by letters, that if he could not have assistance from them, he might at least have them his friends, to comfort him in his misery. That they, on the other hand, as if they were grown more insolent, either thro' their own treachery, or thro' the misery of their Ally, and even their Deliverer, had refus'd him the honour of an answer. But if mercenary men did not know what gratitude was, yet at least they were known to be nice

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computers upon the business of gain and advantage. They should therefore consider with themselves, whether it were reasonable, that he should bear all the expences of the war, in which he had involv'd himself, purely that they might not be utterly undone. And did they not think it sufficient for him to be stript of his territories thro' their perfidiousness, but he must live for the future in mean and abject circumstances, under the difficulties of an exhausted treasury? That because they might not be unapprized that he was not able to bear such base indignities, his high resentment had extorted from him these letters, even against his will; and that it would be impossible for him ever to forget their articles: That he should challenge at their hands the rights and sacred obligations of that alliance which they had impiously violated; and unless they would submissively and honourably make him satisfaction, he would reserve to himself and his posterity the revenge of so great villany. In the mean time,

that

that he besought Almighty God still to preserve them from the miseries of war, and hostile incursions, lest they should learn, too late, what imprudence it is to betray those faithful Allies that had saved them.

What answer did the States return, but such a wretched and empty one as this, That they with a grateful mind recollected the great favours they had receiv'd from him; that they were as much affected with his present case, as if it were their own; but begg'd him to excuse them for making peace upon those terms which they had agreed to; that they had done it only in compliance with necessity; that the burthen of the war was too heavy; that their people could not pay the expence of it; and lastly, that if they had not come into a peace, other countries would have broke in upon their trade: Therefore they most humbly begg'd his pardon, and promis'd to perform all offices of fidelity and friendship to him for the time to come. To these excuses
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it was answer'd: Is this *Dutch* fidelity, to trample upon all Laws, divine and human, only under pretence of necessity? At this rate, what is the force of oaths? To what purpose are the sacred ties of Alliances? Why is the divine Vengeance invoc'd; if all these things cease to oblige upon any turn of affairs whatsoever? Why is the bond of religion join'd to that of human faith, but that no evasion may be left for falsity, upon any pretence in the world. If whenever necessity is pretended, all the obligation of an oath is null and void, truly oaths are of no more value than as the engagements of lovers are too commonly made to be. But what, at last, shou'd this mighty necessity be, that it must over-rule every thing that is sacred? Why, truly, they were oppress'd with the straits and difficulties of war! As if war was any thing else, but the burthen and trouble of dangers, labours and taxes. Did not all their Allies labour under the same necessity, only because they interposed in their cause?

And if they had not first resolv'd with themselves to undergo the utmost, they had no reason to enter into the war: But if any of the Allies thought fit to dispense with himself under this plea, why then it fell the harder on the rest; for that the more the number of the Allies is lessen'd, the more is every one's burthen increased. And thus, when all the rest withdrew themselves, all the danger of the war, which yet he could neither sustain nor avoid, fell upon this one Prince, and the King of *Denmark*, only because they had kept their fidelity to the last. And they thus excus'd themselves to him, because they had deliver'd themselves from the dangers of war, at the expence of his destruction. But indeed the measure of their extreme necessity, is the point of gain: War and merchandize are not friends to one another, and therefore when they had involv'd the whole world in war and confusion, it concern'd not them on whom the ruin lighted, whether friend or foe, provided they could make their market.

Such an unprincipled thing is a Democracy! that there is nothing they will stick at, without any regard to shame, or modesty, or religion; for when the crime runs in common, all are in fault, and yet every one innocent. Every one declares himself unwilling that the thing should be done, but still the greater part is too hard for the better. How could it otherwise be, that when their country being almost lost, all *Europe* had engaged in war on their behalf, obliging themselves by alliance never to recede from it, till things were put upon a right bottom; all had solemnly engaged that no one would make peace without the common consent of all; yet the *Dutch*, as soon as they found themselves safe enough, by the hardships which other people had underwent for them, should first of all desert those Allies that had done so much for them.

But such was the consequence of their treachery, that the same necessity which was falsely pretended by them, did in truth fall upon the rest: For
their

their assistance being withdrawn, the *Spaniard* was altogether unequal to the war in *Flanders*; nor could the Emperor, by reason of that diversion which the war in *Hungary* gave him, carry on both wars without their assistance. Since therefore these were forc'd to agree with the enemy, all the branches of the alliance were broken; and they that stood out were so obnoxious and expos'd to the enemy, that they must necessarily take whatever conditions he impos'd upon them. And he commanded them to restore no less to the vanquish'd, than all the rewards of the conquests which they had obtain'd. These two Most Illustrious Generals, constrain'd by the irresistible law of necessity, quitted the war with minds invincible, but wounded with indignation.

This was their common treachery to all the Confederates, but their particular ill usage of the *Spaniard*, was yet more scandalous: For whereas by the articles of the alliance, the town of *Maestricht* was to be deliver'd to the *Spaniards*,
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the *Dutch*, by striking up a peace first, receiv'd this town from the *French* for themselves. The *Spaniard* requires that it should be deliver'd to him according to agreement. They stop'd their ears to all these complaints; but at length, as if they had been lash'd and beaten into an answer, after an obstinate silence of ten months, replied, That there were great sums due to them from the *Spaniard*, for the late expedition to *Messina*. And moreover, there was a large sum of money that was not yet paid to the Prince of *Orange*, which had been promis'd to his ancestors by the *Spaniard*, at the peace of *Munster*. To this the King of *Spain* answer'd, That it was not agreeable to the faith and dignity of alliances, that their obligation should be cancell'd by matters so foreign and remote: That if such collusions were to pass, there was an end of all treaties; for there is no State or Kingdom, but what either now has, or formerly had, some demands upon their neighbours, which are not fully answer'd. But that
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he was so far from being guilty of not paying the money demanded, that he had voluntarily paid to the Prince of *Orange* a yearly pension of fifty thousand crowns, and had given him an hundred thousand at every return of the plate-fleet, and would, if he pleas'd, stipulate to give it him still. If there were any arrears due for the expedition, if they would deliver in their accounts, he would pay them. And lastly, he admonishes them not to vacate the most sacred laws of alliances, with such trifling excuses. There was some sort of answer made to this, but never publish'd: But whatever it was, the *Spanish* Embassador, before he went away, did with great indignation of mind protest against the iniquity of this affair.

And whereas it is the custom of Nations, to make a handsome present to Embassadors, at their taking leave; he, with the utmost contempt and passion, devoted them and their complement together, to the just wrath and vengeance of the Deity.

But

But it is most of all to be lamented, and was the foulest blot upon the Confederates, that the Duke of *Lorraine*, who came into the alliance amongst the first, was excluded and depriv'd of the benefit of the peace: For this great man disdain'd even to listen to any terms of peace, unless the dominions of his family were restored. For whereas by the treaty between the Emperor and the *French* King, they agreed that the Dukedom should be restor'd to him, provided that the city of *Nancy*, the metropolis of *Lorraine*, and the seat of the Duke remain'd a part of the *French* dominions; and that open roads, even to the breadth of half a league, should be made from *France* to *Nancy*, and from *Nancy* to *Germany*; and these to be under the command of the *French* King alone: By submitting to which conditions, the Duke must in effect admit an enemy into the very bowels of his country, into a place strongly fortified, and would leave his whole country expos'd to the incursions of the

R *French*

French, for if an army should pass that way, it was not in his power, by the articles of peace, to hinder it. The Duke of *Lorraine* hereupon expostulated with all the indignation of a heroe; What! do they think that I will give up any thing of the royal dignity of my ancestors? I had rather never see my country more. And by his Embassadors he declar'd, that he would rather be depriv'd of all his dominions, than deliver that maim'd and lessen'd to his posterity, which he had receiv'd entire from his ancestors: That that Kingdom was precarious, and altogether tributary, which depended upon another's pleasure: That such unjust conditions were never impos'd upon, or receiv'd by, any but persons in desperation. Therefore he frequently protested against the peace, to the Emperor, the Congress at *Nimeguen*, and the Imperial Diet. And when the articles of peace were sign'd and exchang'd, his Minister being present in the Congress, publickly deliver'd a Memorial of protest against it.

Thus

Thus this great man, with equal moderation and greatness of soul, preferr'd an honourable exile before a servile dominion. But to such a warrior, every part of the earth is not only his country, but his kingdom. A brave man's sword is his sceptre, his helmet his diadem, and his breast his Pretorian guard. For what Monarch liv'd with greater glory and honour? Whose power made a greater figure? Who more distinguish'd himself by noble actions, than *Lorrain*? The safety of the Christian world itself so depended upon him, that though the whole Empire of *Europe* was not his lot, he seem'd at least to have deserv'd it: The Providence of God so ordering, that all *Europe* should be sav'd, and perhaps deliver'd from perpetual slavery, by the misfortune of this one Prince; for he so broke the *Ottoman* power, that it will hereafter be no terror to *Europe*. Thus he became a greater Prince by the loss of his dominions, as it argues a nobler spirit to save many Kingdoms, than to govern one.

should by a solemn Edict, commit a noon-day-robbery upon the fortunes of his subjects. But if this was such an act of villany as, he says, was never heard of before, and even a noon-day robbery; I would only ask him who first contriv'd it? who advis'd? who persuaded to it? who put it in execution? lastly, when it was put in execution, who prevented its being expiated by a just payment? who, but the Earl of *Shaftsbury*?

This abandon'd wretch goes on: Thus it seem'd good to the Conspirators, to try how all honour and honesty might be first violated at home, that they might with greater confidence violate the same abroad: For it seem'd to be a sort of justice to treat all alike, whether enemies or countrymen; therefore having committed a robbery at home, they began a pyratrical war against the *Dutch* abroad; for they had religiously observed their treaties ever since the peace was made, and being conscious of their own piety, and therefore secure from
any

any fear of the *English*, they had freely traded in the *British* seas. Nevertheless, there was a design formed by the Conspirators, to surprize their fleet near the Isle of *Wight*, in their return from *Asia* and *Spain*; but it was so unskilfully managed, that they at once lost their booty, and broke their faith.

There has been enough said already, by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, concerning *Dutch* fidelity. But our wretched Poet is inflam'd with such inveterate hatred to his own country, that making a flattering excuse for the *Dutch*, he lays all their treachery to the charge of his own countrymen. I confess that the *English* once fail'd in their faith; but that was done when *Shaftsbury's* faction was in power. Neither did the King assent to them, till they had persuaded him that the solemn obligations of the alliance were broken by the *Dutch*. Neither indeed was there ever wanting occasion of complaint against the *Dutch*; for whatsoever they agreed to, they perform'd nothing. How great then is
the

dignity, and indeed much greater, than his fore-fathers had enjoyed before him.

William the Second, the father of this Prince, died an untimely death, in 1650, being but four and twenty years of age, not without suspicion of poison. For when the republican faction in the Province of *Holland*, began to set aside his authority, he surpriz'd the city of *Amsterdam*, at the end of *July*, and cast the principal Conspirators into a prison call'd *Lovestein*, (whence, afterwards, the faction took its name) and soon after, at the beginning of *October*, died of the small-pox. Whether he died by poison, or a natural death, I shall not presume to determine, since for the most part poison is too rashly assigned upon the death of Princes. The Conspirators being restor'd to liberty by his death, since they had no one to oppose their designs, hastned to bring their counsels to an issue. Now the Prince died when his wife was big with child, whom altho' she was deliver'd of a son, yet they were resolved by any means

means to accomplish whatever they design'd before he should grow up, and much more before he came to maturity. The first step that was taken while the child was in swaddling clothes, was entering into an alliance with *Cromwell*, chiefly upon this condition, That the Prince of *Orange* should not be restor'd to the dignity of his Ancestors; and immediately, by a decree of the States, the title of Highness was taken from him. Then the military ensigns and trophies which were taken by his predecessors from the enemy in battle, and hung up in publick places in their cities, were every where remov'd, that no monument might remain of the renown of the house of *Orange*. But the King of *Great Britain* passing thro' *Holland* to his paternal dominions, in 1660, earnestly interceded with the States for his nephew, that he might enjoy the same titles and honours which his ancestors had born. They seemingly granted it, and promis'd that they would confer them upon him as soon as he

should attain to the fifteenth year of his age. The mother of the Prince going with her brothers into her native country, committed the care and education of her son to *John de Wits*, that she might by this means oblige the principal man of the faction, in the glory and honour of so great a trust. In the year 1666, there was a war between the *Dutch* and the Bishop of *Munster*; whereupon there arose a dispute concerning the appointment of a General. The other Provinces (especially *Zealand*, which always shew'd inviolable fidelity and steadiness to the house of *Orange*) chose the Prince, being now sixteen years old, tho' not into the command, yet into the honour and title of General. The Province of *Holland* alone oppos'd it; which being more powerful than all the rest, would have the command of the army given to *Turenne*, a very eminent General indeed, but a foreigner.

Aug.
1667.

The following year being far advanc'd, when the Prince was near the age of eighteen, they published an Edict, which they

they call'd perpetual, to abrogate and annul the offices of the family of *Orange*. These were three:

The supreme government in the commonwealth, and the chief commands in war, both by sea and land, during life.

These they determin'd should be conferred only at the pleasure of the States, and given to no one for life; neither should they be all invested in one, but each of them divided between several persons.

The Decree was enforced by an oath; neither was any one admitted into the publick administration, before he had oblig'd himself by oath to be obedient to it. By which one law, they took away all the authority of the house of *Orange* for ever. The people being enrag'd at so great an indignity, oblig'd them to allow the Prince a seat in their general Assemblies; however, they bound him also by the same oath. *Zealand* resent-
ing this insolence, which the *Hollanders* had offered to so great a man, voluntarily
Septemb.
1668.

rily gave him the highest seat of honour and precedency amongst the Nobility of that Province; which dignity being conferr'd upon him, he obtain'd the chief power, both in that Province, and in the general Assembly of the States.

It happen'd afterwards, in 1672, that the Most Christian King marching into the borders of the United Provinces, had suddenly, and even beyond his expectation, penetrated into the very bowels of their country: For he took in a few days those cities which the *Dutch* with difficulty had taken from the *Spaniard* by sieges of several years. He was astonish'd at his own conquests, hardly believ'd what he had done, neither did he seem to be come to engage with an enemy, but to take quiet possession of the land. Nor indeed was it much to be wondred at; for the raising of forces was delayed by the Conspirators (who at that time had the administration of affairs) lest the chief command of the army should fall to the Prince of *Orange*. Then they so long trifled with the *French* King

King about a peace, that he, at length, despising all conditions, suddenly made an irruption into their country with a vast army, before they could possibly be prepar'd for war. Their fortifications were broken and decay'd in a long peace ; their magazines were very ill stored ; their soldiers undisciplin'd and unexperient'd, and unaccustom'd to all military exercise ; nor was the number of men sufficient for the posts which they were appointed to maintain.

It now happen'd most unfortunately to the *Dutch*, that they were at the same time carrying on a war with *England* at sea, and had sent their best forces aboard their fleet, being much more ambitious of dominion at sea, than at land. But the greatest piece of ill conduct was that there was no General to command their army ; therefore every thing was done confusedly, without order, and without counsel. The other Provinces, which were very much alarm'd at these proceedings, desir'd the Prince of *Orange* for their General. *Holland* alone oppos'd

pos'd it a long time ; but at length being over-power'd by numbers, admitted him into the honour of that command, under four tutors, chosen out of themselves, in whom all the authority and conduct of carrying on the war was to be lodg'd. The Prince accepted the command, such as it was, and presently went to the army : And a muster being taken, there were not above seventeen thousand soldiers : At which time the city *Wesel* was closely besieg'd by the *French*. The Governour desir'd a reinforcement from the new General ; whereupon he referr'd the matter to his tutors. They were unexperienc'd in military affairs ; nor did they presume to do any thing rashly of themselves ; therefore they sent to consult with the States. In the mean while the city was taken.

Thus when in three months space the *French* King had taken all the fortresses upon the borders, and was ready to invade their inland and less fortified places, the *Hollanders* commanded the army to countermarch, to the defence of their
own

own Province; as if they despair'd of the rest, or were not solicitous what became of them. In these calamities of their country, tumults were rais'd as usual: There was a great concourse of people feigning strange and groundless apprehensions, women frantick in their wailings, the married women running out into the streets in the utmost despair, and lifting their hands up to Heaven; and in short, a general clamour and indignation against the Magistrates, who had manag'd affairs with so much remissness and inactivity. Amongst these, the *De Wits* suffer'd chiefly, who had long usurp'd the whole administration of affairs; especially *John*, the eldest, who had exercised a dictatorial power, and principally proposed to himself these four things: First, that *England* should be so driven from the seas, that hereafter she should not give laws to the *Dutch*, but receive laws from them. Secondly, that the family of *Orange* should be divested of all power. Thirdly, that the Province of

4. *Holland*

Holland should rule over the other United Provinces. And lastly, that he should dispose of every thing in *Holland* at his pleasure. And hence he was call'd, ironically, the King of *Holland*. And whereas he had first resolv'd that *England* should be destroy'd, the wars at sea against the *English* in 1665, and 1666, were chiefly carried on by his advice: It was also by his contrivance and management, that the robbery at *Chatham*, in the following year, was committed. Nor would he treat of peace with the *English*, till the *French* King having conquer'd the Provinces of *Flanders*, began to threaten the *Dutch*. But the storm being blown over, he thought of nothing but destroying *England*. Therefore he secretly solicited the Most Christian King, by his Ambassador, whose name was *Mombas*, that they might with joint forces invade *England*, by an unexpected expedition. With which base, dishonourable and perfidious proposal, the Most Christian King was so provok'd, that he discover'd
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the whole affair to the King of *England*. This was the beginning of the alliance between the two Kings, when in 1672, one attack'd the *Dutch* by sea, the other by land. By which war the reign of the *De Witses* was brought to an end. For the people being daily incensed by the frequent victories of the *French* King, cast all the blame upon those brothers. First of all, four young men, rashly brave, conspir'd to assassinate *John De Wits* ; and on the 21st of *June*, at eleven of the clock at night, they set upon him, in his return from council, and gave him so many wounds, that, as if they had done their work, every one began to shift for himself. Three of them escap'd ; the fourth, whose name was *James de Graef*, being taken, and beheaded, bore his punishment with great bravery and magnanimity. However *De Wits*, tho' much wounded, was not kill'd, but recover'd, not without great difficulty. About the same time there was another conspiracy form'd against his brother *Cornelius*.

William

William Ticklaer, a chirurgeon, a man formerly the most seditious of the faction, either of his own accord, or being hired, made a discovery to the Prince of *Orange's* prime minister, that *Cornelius* had hired him, by the promise of great rewards, to kill the Prince. The man was not only of no reputation, but a base, clamorous Fellow. Nevertheless, such is the madness of popular tumults, and their readiness to fear every thing, that being inform'd against only by this witness, he was hurried into prison at the *Hague*, and being indicted for this crime, he was sentenc'd to be banish'd. Notwithstanding, the people were enrag'd at the mildness of his punishment, and would not be satisfy'd unless it were capital; wherefore, that he might not escape alive, they beset the prison. *John*, by chance, had visited his brother, that he might attend him beyond the fields of the town, towards the place of his banishment. The tumult continued for some hours; at length the prison doors

were

were broken open, the inhabitants of the town went up into the chamber, and dragg'd them headlong down stairs, kicking them as they fell; and having brought them into the street, gave them a thousand wounds. Nor was the mean-spirited revenge of the populace satisfied with their death; for they thought it not sufficient, unless they exposed them to contempt and ridicule. They hung their naked carcases upon a gibbet, and then tore their limbs in pieces, which were sold for no small price; then taking out their bowels, they stretched them out with sticks across their backs, inserted on each side as butchers use to dress their cattle, and kept them open in this extended posture. There were some that devour'd pieces of their flesh roasted in the fire; and it is reported that a certain citizen snatch'd one of their hearts, and seasoning it with salt; made an entertainment of it for his friends. Thus they made a savage feast of these brothers, whom they had worship'd as gods for some years; not thro' revenge

(for that is a generous vice, and seems to carry somewhat great in it) but for the sake of diversion and mockery.

But as the populace is naturally fond of change, whether it be right or wrong, so it often happens that even tumults bring about a change for the better. Thus when their passion, or rather the wantonness of their barbarity, was satisfy'd upon these traitors, these enrag'd zealots at length shew'd their regard to the Prince of *Orange*, threatening not to be quiet till he was advanc'd to the power and authority of his ancestors. The first effort was made in the city of *Dort*; which city, as it had been the most inveterate against the family of *Orange*, so it first exerted it self in his behalf, and requir'd that the Prince should be the chief Governour, also that the perpetual Edict should be cancell'd.

Harlem follow'd next, then *Delft*, afterwards *Leiden*, then *Amsterdam* and *Rotterdam*, the greatest cities in the Province. The States themselves were at last compelled by these to repeal the perpetual

perpetual Edict, and to make another for restoring the Prince to his ancient dignity; also reposing in him a power of removing what magistrates he pleas'd from their office. Thus at length the tumults were with difficulty compos'd in the several cities, and the supreme power was given to the Prince of *Orange*, not only for life, as before, but for his posterity, by hereditary right. Thus the Prince, at the end of this war, was the greatest Conqueror, except the *French* King. May he long enjoy the Government which he won by so many battles and dangers!

Besides these slaughters and devastations of war in the *European* Nations, which arose from the breach of the triple alliance, there were also other very grievous calamities which happen'd, and chiefly these three: The incursion of the *Turks* and *Tartars* into *Poland*; the rebellion of *Messina* against the *Spaniard*; and the rebellion of *Hungary* against the Emperor; each of them to the great hazard of the Christian world.

First of all, when the *Barbarians* found almost all the Christian Kings involv'd in wars with each other, they thought it no improper time to invade *Poland*, which, as it had stood for many ages as a barrier against their attempts, so it being once conquer'd, there would be an easy passage open'd into the *European* world. At this time every thing there lay in a defenseless condition: The King was weak, and unequal to the affairs of government; the Nobility divided into factions; the Treasury empty; and lastly, no prospect of assistance from other nations; yet every thing was supplied by the conduct, fortune, bravery and courage of the great *Sobieski*, General of the Army. It had happen'd (if I may be allowed to go a little back to relate the actions of so great a man) that in 1667, the *Tartars*, with the *Cossacks*, entering the borders of the Kingdom with a prodigious army, laid every thing waste, utterly depopulating the country, and burning the cities and villages, according to the custom of those barbarous

barbarous nations: *Sobieski* met them with a handful of men; but was immediately surrounded by the multitude of the enemies, cut off from provisions, and besieg'd at once both by the enemy, and by famine. There were no hopes in flight, almost none in a battle, hardly any in valour itself; yet this man, of an invincible courage and bravery, advancing in his usual manner at the head of his troops, broke in upon the enemy with such force, that their ranks being immediately disorder'd, he routed them with very great loss; by which he struck such terror upon the vanquish'd, that they presently sued for peace with him upon terms very honourable to *Poland*. In 1672, the rest of *Europe* being inflam'd with wars, the *Turks* on a sudden enter'd the borders of *Poland*, and in twelve days took by surrender the city *Caminieck*, the metropolis and capital city of upper *Podolia*, that had been often attempted by them before, but never taken. At this time the great General *Sobieski* was engaged

in an expedition against the *Tartars*, (a people regardless of their treaties,) whom he repuls'd with great slaughter, there being twelve thousand of the enemy kill'd upon the field of battle. In the mean time, before he return'd, *Michael* King of *Poland*, made a peace with the *Turk* and the *Tartar*, upon the basest and most ignominious terms: For he made himself tributary to both, paying them a yearly acknowledgment, and deliver'd up a great part of *Ukrain*, and all *Podolia*, to the enemy. When this was told to *Sobieski*, he was highly provok'd at it, and with all possible dispatch brought his army near to the court of this timorous Prince, and desir'd in the Diet, that the base and dishonourable peace might be cancell'd, saying that it was not to be suffer'd, that the majesty of that invincible Kingdom should be tributary to any one, and especially to the enemies of the Christian world. And that, if the States of the Kingdom would but furnish him with an army of sixty thousand men, he

he would drive both the Barbarians out of all the *Polish* territories. In the mean while, he march'd with a small army to the borders, and when he was inform'd that the enemy's army, consisting of forty thousand men, had encamped on the other side of the river *Borysthenes*, and that another larger army would presently come out of *Asia*, he pass'd the river with all expedition, and fell upon the enemy in their camp. The fight was a long time very hot and doubtful, by reason of the inequality of forces, but at length, the enemy was routed, and almost entirely cut off, for they that were not kill'd by the sword, perish'd in the river. Nor of forty thousand men, did above five thousand survive the fury of this battle. By which one victory, he conquer'd both armies: For the other, which was on their march from *Asia*, hearing of this signal defeat, retir'd in great consternation. In the very moment of the victory, news was brought of the death of *Michael* King of *Poland*, as a reward of

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his bravery, and an omen of his superior fortune, when by this one piece of service to his country he had deserv'd a crown. So in the month of *May*, in the following year, and in the fifty first of his age, he was elected King in the Diet of the Kingdom; as soon as this was over, not waiting for the solemnity of a coronation, he prepared to return towards the enemy. But the Nobles and Senators, tho' they had promis'd an army of sixty thousand men, were so divided into factions, that they brought nothing to an issue. He march'd with an army of sixteen thousand men towards the borders, to meet the enemy. But that winter no enemy appearing, he recover'd most of the cities of *Ukrain* and *Podolia*, that were yielded to the Barbarians by the last peace.

In the beginning of the following year, the enemy invaded the borders with an army of two hundred thousand men; and first attack'd *Slucek* with sixty thousand, but being repuls'd with great

slaughter, march'd away towards *Lemburgh*, into which city the King had brought his Queen and his children, to keep up the courage and spirit of the people. The King pitch'd his camp in a convenient post, a mile from the town, and laid an ambush in the woods and the thickets, omitting nothing that belong'd to the conduct of a prudent and skilful Commander. He had not above four thousand men in the field. With these he waits for the advances of the enemy; who coming up, he exhorts the soldiers either to conquer with him or die; and presently the signal being given, and invoking the name of Jesus three times, he led them on. The Barbarians being astonish'd, partly at the fury and warmth of their fighting, and partly with the surprize of those that fallied out of the woods from their ambush, that altho' at the first onset they fought bravely, yet they were so broken, not only in the front, but on each flank, that many thousands being slain, they were entirely routed, flying in great disorder;

disorder; nor did they make a stand, till they were retir'd into their camp. Some days after, forces came out of the Dukedom of *Lithuania* to *Lemburgh*. The King follows the enemy with the longest marches that could be taken, with an army of fifteen thousand men, having left the rest to garrison the cities. In the mean time, the enemy had besieg'd the city *Buckzaes*: But news being brought of the King's approaching, they suddenly rais'd the siege, and retir'd to *Trembowl*, and sat down before it. The King, by letters, promis'd the Governour, that he would speedily come to his relief. The messenger being taken, the letters were intercepted; upon reading of which, so great a terror ran through the camp, that immediately departing in great disorder, by a march like a flight, the *Tartars* guarding them on one side, they retir'd towards *Caminieck*. In their first flight they went fifteen leagues; nor did they think themselves safe, till they had encamped within the fortifications

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of *Caminieck*, and within cannon-shot. Nor did the King leave his pursuit; but with great marches hastened towards *Caminieck*. When the *Turks* heard this, they left a very strong garrison in the town, and marched their affrighted army over the *Borysthenes*. The King of *Poland* following their rear, kill'd a great number of them. But the *Turks* fled, by an unwearied march, night and day; nor did they halt, till they had pass'd the *Danube*. The King took a bridge over the *Borysthenes*, which was built by the enemy, and five hundred carriages laden with money, all sorts of furniture, and corn; which he gave as plunder to his soldiers. This campaign being so happily ended, the King brought back his army into winter-quarters; tho' indeed this may not seem to be so properly a war, as a chase. It was indeed a thing scarce ever heard of, that a small body of four thousand men, should put to flight an army of sixty thousand; and that sixteen thousand should drive a hundred and fifty thousand

stand before them, like a flock of fearful sheep, should force them also to raise two great sieges, and put them to a precipitate flight, only by the terror of their arms. I do not remember that such an enterprize was ever perform'd by those antient Generals whom *Greece* reverenc'd, and *Rome* admir'd.

1676. In the beginning of the following spring, the solemnity of the Coronation was perform'd. In the midst of the summer, the *Turks* and *Tartars* enter'd the borders with vast numbers. The King met them with a small army, despising the enemy whom he had so often beaten; and as soon as he came up with them, he put a hundred and fifty thousand men to flight, with prodigious slaughter. The *Turks* now broken with so many defeats, sent Ministers to treat of peace. The King granted it upon these honourable terms: First, that the last treaty made with King *Michael*, should be voided and annull'd. Secondly, that *Ukrain* and all *Podolia*, excepting *Caminieck*, should be restor'd to the *Poles*.

Poles. Thirdly, that the prisoners should be exchange'd. Fourthly, that the Christian Religion should be freely exercis'd in all the places which the *Turks* obtain'd by this treaty. Fifthly, that the *Turks* should give up all their right to the tribute due by virtue of the last agreement. Sixthly, that there should be a defensive league between them against the enemies of both. Lastly, that the holy sepulchre should be restor'd into the custody of the Christians.

Never did the *Pole* agree upon better terms with the *Turk*; peace being settled at home. Some years after, (1679) as soon as the King of *Poland* observ'd that the wars between the Christians were ended, he sent Embassadors to all the Kings in *Europe*, to solicit them to enter into an alliance against the common enemy of Christianity. He was inflam'd with that innate hatred against the Infidels, and that ardent zeal for the Christian faith, that he was as it were sent into the world on purpose to rescue *Europe* from the foul and shameful tyranny

ranny of the Infidels. What was consulted or done by his Embassadors, I have not heard. However, nothing came to an issue, (by whose ambition and treachery it was chiefly prevented, I shall not say) till the *Turk*, by a furious inroad into *Hungary*, threatening common danger to most of them, made that union amongst them, which the *Pole* could not. King *Sobieski*, as if he rejoiced at the opportunity, entred into the war with more than usual alacrity. But what, and how great things he perform'd in that war, shall be plainly related in the account of *Tekeli's* war, in which he had the greatest share in the conquests : Nor did he more subdue the enemy by his bravery, than by the terror that he struck into them : For when they were acquainted that he would be Captain-General, they trembled at his name : In whatsoever part of the army he engaged, they could not bear his countenance, and the piercing sharpness of his eyes. He put them to flight barely by his presence ; so that he lamented

mented this alone with the other Generals, that after such long and tedious marches, they obtain'd so easy a victory over the enemy. But from that time, the courage of the Infidels sunk so much, that (I hope) henceforward it will prove a matter of no great difficulty to beat them. The *Ottoman* Empire was never so near to destruction before. If the Christian war goes on with the same success this year (1686) as it did the last, we may hope that, the weight of this great Empire being once shaken, the *Turkish* impiety will be driven out of *Europe*, and sink under its own ruins.

These transactions in *Poland* proceeded from the breach of the triple alliance. In *Sicily*, from the same cause, arose a rebellion which swept away prodigious numbers, with dreadful slaughters: For the *Spaniard* being engaged in wars, both in *Flanders* and *Catalonia*, which did not succeed very well, the city of *Messina*, of the greatest authority in the island, fortified with

four castles, and fourteen forts, situated upon the sea-coasts, a great mart, with a capacious haven, wealthy in ships and commerce, either from domestick factions, or being solicited from abroad, suddenly revolted from him. The conspiracy first broke out in the month of *August*, in 1674. It was first strengthened and supported by sacrilege (as is usual in every rebellion) the robbing and spoiling the Churches of their ornaments, and afterwards followed by murders; for there was a hundred and sixty persons of noble families kill'd, merely thro' the hatred and envy which they bore to the Nobility. Then they make all their neighbours tributary, require corn to be brought in from all places within sixteen leagues, and import great quantities of warlike stores, send Embassadors to all the courts on every side, to desire assistance, and transact every thing at home and abroad as if they were a free Commonwealth, and entirely at their own disposal. Presently the *French* come to their aid, making

making a descent upon the island, and joining their forces with the city, take all the strongest castles. But being closely besieg'd by sea and land by the *Spaniard*, they are almost destroy'd by famine, during the whole winter.

In the following spring, the *French* arrived with a fleet, and great provisions of corn. The *Spaniard* challenges them to fight. The *French* proving too hard for them in the battle, obtain'd the port, tho' with great loss on both sides, to the great joy of the inhabitants, because they brought them not only strong succours, but also plenty of all things, when they were almost famish'd. The Queen Mother, who at that time govern'd *Spain*, in great indignation threw the chief officers of the fleet, and the Viceroy of the Kingdom, into prison. In the month of *March* the pestilence raged with great violence in the city, and thence spread over the island, and made such havock of the forces on both sides, that there were not enough left to fight a battle: Hence new fleets

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come from each hand. The *Spaniard* desires assistance at land from the *Germans*, and at sea from the *Dutch*. The Merchants, a sort of men that are too studious and greedy of gain, convey'd corn from all parts into the rebellious city, because it was sold there at the dearest price; which when it was told the King of *England*, he by Proclamation forbid his subjects having any commerce with the Rebels; declaring that he would not allow his subjects to assist foreign Rebels, contrary to the law of Nations, and the sacred ties of Alliances; and that as far as in him lay, he would punish those that gave them assistance, in the same manner as if it were against himself. A Declaration worthy of a King! for it is the common cause of all Kings, that they should keep their subjects in their duty and obedience. The troops on both sides having received great re-inforcements, the summer was spent in frequent battles, and mutual sieges, for the most part with doubtful success, excepting that it a little

tle inclin'd towards the *French*, for they surpriz'd and took the city *Augusta*; the *Spanish* fleet being dispers'd by a storm, had all their ships shatter'd, and seven sunk. At length, about the end of the year, *Reuter*, by command of the States, comes with a fleet to the assistance of the *Spaniards*. In the beginning of the following year, the *French* arrive, and a battle is begun: They fought sharply on both sides, with equal loss, excepting that whereas the inhabitants of *Messina* had been distressed a long time with want of provisions, the *French* brought ships laden with corn into the harbour of the besieg'd city: Which altho' it was not to be call'd a victory, yet it was really more advantageous, because by bringing plenty of corn, they freed the city from all the straits of a siege. *Reuter* went away, disgusted at the *Spaniards*, but return'd a few days after, by order of the States, and besieg'd the city at sea, while the *Spaniards* besieg'd it at land. There was an engagement at sea with the *French*, in the month of *April*,

in the following year, which was fought with great slaughter. *Reuter* receiving many wounds, died of them a little after, at *Syracusa*. Thus it hapned fortunately to this brave man, that by his death he should compleat all the glories of his former life; since after so many great and brave actions in behalf of his country, he ended his life in a just war against rebels. A great part of the *Spanish* and *Dutch* fleet was destroy'd by an unexpected attack of the *French*; three Admiral-ships, seven others, and six transports, were burnt. The *Dutch* returning home, the *French* landed upon the island, and took many castles. Thus they fought with various fortune, till 1678, when being suddenly recall'd by letters from their King, they convey'd every thing aboard their fleet, pretending they had some great enterprize to attempt with the whole body of their forces. Which being done, they open'd their King's commands to the citizens: When the Rebels found themselves deserted by their defenders, they

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were put into as great horror and confusion, as if the city had been taken and spoil'd by the enemy; many of them embark in the *French* fleet, and these are immediately punish'd with perpetual banishment; others being seiz'd with a panick terror, went naked and poor to *Venice*, and other sea-ports of *Italy*: To these the Viceroy, a very prudent man, gave leave to return to their goods and possessions. Thus after a five years war, in which there was a great deal of blood spilt thro' the island, things stood in the same posture as before. And there was the same cause of this sudden change, as of many others: For the *French* King could not be brought to treat of peace in earnest, till the King of *England* did at length this year join with the Confederates in defence of *Flanders*; an army of thirty thousand men being rais'd, and a fleet of ninety ships equipp'd. These were at the King's request allowed of by the Parliament; and they all engaged that they would not be wanting in granting taxes,

so long as the war should continue. When the *French* King was acquainted with this, he became more tractable, for he now saw himself overcome by an enemy; and he, who did not fear all *Europe* beside, yielded to the valour of the *English*. Hence, in a short time, a peace was made with the *Dutch* and the *Spaniard*, upon any terms: For since the King of *England* had entred into a league with them only, the whole occasion of the war was taken off from him. This obstacle being remov'd, the *French* King (as I have said) gave what terms he pleas'd to the other Allies. And notwithstanding he had sent a fresh army into *Sicily*, about the same time as the *English* proclaim'd war against him, which was just ready to execute his commands; yet he in a moment gave up all the advantages of his labour and expence, after so many fleets and armies sent, so much warlike stores provided, and so many battles fought, for five years together, at sea and land: For when he found that the *English* were

were become his enemies, he thought it not safe to venture his fleet far from his own ports. It is certain, that at that time the fate of all *Europe* depended upon the King of *England* alone: He gave peace or war as he pleas'd: As long as he was willing that the triple alliance should continue, there was perfect peace and tranquillity throughout *Europe*; as soon as he untied that knot, war broke out on every side; hardly any Nation, except *Britain* only, was free from it. Thus for full six years, the *French* alone being an equal match for all the rest, a war was carried on with infinite slaughters. The King of *England*, when he found that otherwise there would be no end of war, offer'd himself as a Mediator and Arbitrator of peace. The *French* King did not refuse, but trifled away three years in making unreasonable demands by his Ministers, and did nothing but endeavour to prevent the treaties having any effect. The King of *England* being grown weary of so much delay, and in-

deed of so much farce and mockery, threatned to proclaim war, unless the *French* King would put an end to it; and what he threatned he bravely put in execution, transporting a great part of his army into *Flanders*. When the King of *France* saw this, all delay was immediately cut off, and the peace which had been so long deferr'd by him, was accepted, upon the hardest terms; for he restor'd all the places which he had taken in the war.

The island of *Great Britain* is so conveniently situated by the favour of nature, that it may not only govern at home, but abroad, if it please: For since it abounds in frequent and convenient harbours; from the number and convenience of its harbours, traffick and commerce arise; and from traffick a fleet of ships, and a multitude of seamen; and upon these depend the chief power at sea: And he that has the dominion at sea, may extend it as far as he will, and make himself Arbitrator of peace and war between the neighbouring Princes.

Princes. And this dominion at sea, is the singular prerogative of the Kings of *England*; which makes them Arbitrators and Guardians of the peace of *Europe*. They have no occasion to extend their Empire into foreign Nations; for conquests beyond sea are not secure, but always a burden and charge to the Kingdom. But the Lord of the ocean may rule beyond the bounds of his own dominion, from the rising to the setting of the sun. And tho' it be not necessary to subdue foreign Nations, yet to guard our neighbours from the invasions of others, is truly a great and most beneficial part of Empire. Hence I think it more glorious to be able to keep off an enemy from another's Kingdom, than to overcome him our selves. Neither do I think it so great a merit, to have subdued ten Kingdoms, as to have deliver'd one from oppression and bondage. Thus the Kings of *England* may exert as it were a divine benevolence towards mankind; for as they have no occasion to hurt any one, so they have it in their power

power to aid and relieve the distress'd; this is a power, which the whole world cannot equal; nor is the method of exercising it less admirable; inasmuch as the name of a Deliverer is far more glorious than that of a King.

The third and greatest danger to the Christian world, proceeded from the war in *Hungary*. The whole series of affairs is too long to be related; it will be sufficient to shew how it proceeded from the same fountain, that is, the breach of the triple alliance. The Emperor of *Germany* making war upon *France* with all the forces of the Empire, the *Hungarians* thought it a proper time to retrieve their liberties, and therefore broke out into an open war, which they had long design'd; the *Turk* secretly soliciting them to revolt. The pretences of the war were Religion and Liberty. The Emperor granted their demands, provided they would lay down their arms. But there was something else which they aim'd at; therefore being furnish'd by the *Turks* with money

and auxiliaries, they made havock on every side, with butchery and carnage. They kill'd the Clergy like sheep, plundered Noblemens houses, burnt the Churches, and stuck at nothing which a mad rabble are us'd to do. At length in 1678, they chose Count *Teckeli*, a bold and haughty man, for their General. He presently cast himself into the protection of the *Turk*, promising to obey all his commands, and not to accept of peace from the *Germans*, without his permission. The *Turk* embrac'd him at first with seeming modesty, sending an Embassador to the Emperor, desiring that he would grant his demands: And he easily obtain'd what he desir'd. Nevertheless, he went on secretly to assist the *Hungarians*. The Emperor complain'd that this was contrary to the solemn agreement between the commanding Officers. They denied it upon oath. In the mean time, the *Hungarians* being strengthened with great numbers, come into the field, and besiege several cities and castles. But Count *Lesley*,
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the General of the Emperor's forces in *Hungary*, coming up, they, not daring to trust to a battle, march'd from Province to Province, and in their hasty march plundered cities and towns. In the mean while they sought for peace by their ministers; and they reported to them the terms that were offer'd. The *Hungarians* were divided into two parties: One party, by the advice of *Teckeli*, were willing to agree to the terms that were offer'd: The other thought that larger were to be requir'd, Count *Weffalini* being their chief adviser. His opinion, by agreement, prevail'd.

In the beginning of the following spring, the war was renew'd. Peace being made with *France*, the forces of the Empire were at leisure for the
 1679, *Hungarian* war. Two years were
 1680. spent between battles and treaties. The Emperor was perplexed with the variety of measures that were to be taken; for the *French* King again threatned to invade the Empire; the *Pole* and *Mosco-*
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vite solicited him to enter into an alliance against the *Turks*; and the *Turk* threatened that if he came into that alliance, he would make an irruption into *Hungary* with all his forces. The Emperor being thus attack'd on every side, knew not which way to turn himself; and, which was still worse, the *Moscovite* made a league with the *Turk*. *Teckeli's* party, while they pretended a desire of peace, refused all overtures of accommodation. The infection spread into *Germany*, the sedition of the Boors increasing. All embassies were rendered fruitless by the *Turks*, for under the appearance of Embassadors, spies were sent to *Vienna*. At length, after various artifices, in the year 1681, the Rebels seem'd so really and sincerely to treat of peace by their Ministers, that the Emperor summon'd a Diet of the Kingdom at *Oedenburgh*, a city upon the borders of lower *Hungary* and *Austria*. He being present in the assembly, in a *Latin* oration exhorted them to peace, promising to grant them very honourable terms.

terms. First, they require a Vice-roy or Palatine of their own countrymen: Immediately the Count of *Esterhasi* is invested in that dignity. *Teckeli*, with his followers, that the matter might come to nothing, protest against the election, and at the same time require the most unjust terms of the Emperor, chiefly that it might be lawful to pay an yearly tribute to the *Turk*. And it was no wonder, since the infamous traytor had privately made a league with the *Turk* upon that condition: Therefore, without delay, they with joint forces break forth into open arms. About the same time the *French* King began to move in *Germany*, suddenly besieging and taking *Strasburgh*, and the strong city of *Casal*, the head of *Montserat*. By the one a passage was open'd into *Austria*, by the other into *Italy*; by these means, the factious in the Convention of the States were so lifted up, that adding some other terms of peace, which the Emperor could not grant, they endeavour'd that the Convention should break up without

out doing any thing. Which insolence so provok'd all good men, that they immediately covenanted to pay the strictest obedience and fidelity to the Emperor, upon the terms offer'd by him. When *Teckeli* heard of this, he desir'd a truce, that he also might treat of peace. The matter was protracted for a long time, till having made a new alliance with the *Turk*, he impos'd upon the credulity of the Emperor's Ministers. In the mean while the *Turk* goes on to make great preparations for war. And the Emperor enquiring for what end, he answer'd, by the sacred Majesty of God, that they were not made against him. But at length, the Most Christian King himself, by his Embassador to the Emperor, laid open the secret of the war that was design'd against him ; that therefore he would withdraw all his forces from *Germany*, and send him, if there were occasion, aids of thirty thousand men, upon certain conditions. In the mean while, *Teckeli's* party did, during the whole summer, over-run their country, with

with sword, slaughter, plunder of cities, and all the desolation and misery of a civil war. The Emperor was so mov'd at these miseries of *Hungary*, that by his Embassador he almost supplicated a peace of the Sultan, but in vain; the Grand Vizier (who had the chief power) preparing with all expedition for war. The Embassador, on the other hand, insists upon the obligations of the league made for twenty years. The Vizier made answer, that it should hold good, upon these terms:

Provided the Emperor would pay to the *Turk* the expences of the warlike preparations that had been made, and also an yearly tribute for the future; and then that the cities of *Comorra* and *Raab*, and the Isle of *Schuts*, in the *Danube*, should be surrender'd to him. These proposals being rejected, war was proclaim'd, by hanging out the horse's tail, as is the custom of the Barbarians. Hereupon *Teckeli* was tried whether he could be inclin'd to peace upon any terms. He required nothing less for himself,

himself, than the Principality of *Hungary*, and the same vote as the other *German* Princes have in the Diet of the Empire; and that an annual tribute should be paid to the *Turk* by the Popish Clergy, and lastly, that the *Turk* should be for the present pacified by the Emperor with a great sum of money. These demands being also rejected, there was an agreement made between *Teckeli* and the *Turk*, to this effect: That *Teckeli* should have the right of the Kingdom of *Hungary* to himself and his posterity: That if at any time the race of *Teckeli* should fail, the power of electing a King should be in the *Hungarians*, with the consent of the *Turk*: That a yearly tribute of four hundred thousand crowns should be paid: That all the *Hungarian* liberties should be always firm and secure: That the *Turk* should defend them from all enemies: That *Teckeli* should never make peace with the Emperor, without his consent: That all the Jesuits should be banish'd: And lastly, That the *Turk* should ratify

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these articles with an oath. *Teckeli* being made King, presently summon'd a Diet of the Kingdom at *Caschaw*, wherein he requir'd the Nobility to give him assurances and pledges of fidelity; and (since clemency and mercy are the greatest ornaments of Kings) he promised by his Embassador that was sent to *Vienna*, that he would be a Mediator of peace in behalf of the Emperor. But the Emperor despising the insolence of the man, made a more honourable alliance with the neighbouring Kings, especially with the King of *Poland*. And now the armies march out of winter-quarters into the camp.

All the Nations throughout *Africa*, *Asia*, and *Europe*, that belong'd to the *Turkish* Dominions, were set on foot, together with a vast multitude of barbarous *Tartars*. To stop this dreadful inundation of these Barbarians, the Duke of *Lorrain* alone, General of the Imperial army, was sent with a body of troops not consisting of above forty thousand.

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But being over-power'd with a vast multitude, he retir'd to *Vienna*, with wonderful conduct and courage, he himself bringing up the rear. Immediately the *Turks* laying waste the fields, and burning the villages on every side, come to *Vienna*, and the city is besieg'd; which though not very well fortified with walls and forts, was yet invincible, *Starembergh* being its defender. And since the siege was the most memorable, not only of this age, but almost of any that can be remembered, it may be allowable to give you a draught of this grand and most extraordinary transaction.

Never was there greater force exerted, or hatred shewn; for on both sides, they had it equally in their view to contend for Religion and Empire. In *Vienna* alone, the whole Christian world was besieg'd; nor were the *Turkish* arms brought against *Austria* only, but all *Europe*; in short, the Christian name was to be utterly extirpated and destroy'd from off the face of the earth, if the

enemy had overcome : For thus in the proclamation of war, the Barbarian threatned the God of the Christians ; That he would drive him out of the world by force of arms ; That he would set up the empire and worship of his own *Mahomet*, in every part of the earth, from the rising to the setting of the sun ; That the crucified God should be subdued, whom he challenged, if he dared, to assist his worshippers, and to come out to meet him ; (such is the insolence of the Barbarians!) and that all the inhabitants of the earth should know by the event of this affair, which religion was dearest to the Most High God.

When the besieged saw that the fate of the Christian world wholly depended upon their fortitude, and that there could be no end to their extreme misery but either in death or victory, being as it were bound together by the bond of despair, they swore to defend the city (as we say) to a man. But, next to the goodness of their cause, and the favour
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of God, their greatest dependance was upon the fortune and bravery of *Starembergh*; he had engag'd with great dangers, but was never hurt, much less was he ever overcome in his whole life. And he had learn'd by custom to be as regardless of danger, as by nature he was ignorant of fear. This was the state of the case.

On the 15th day of *July*, the enemy measur'd out their camp about the distance of two hundred paces from the fortifications of the city. Here they drew the line of circumvallation, and cast up very high breast-works, to defend their camp from the annoyance of the cannon. Then they rais'd forts, at just distances from each other. On these, cannons were immediately mounted, which being discharg'd all the next day, with the throwing of bombs, the city suffered very great damage, but especially the Palace and the Cathedral. On the other hand, *Starembergh* fortified the town-ditch with a scarp and counterscarp, by which he might keep

the enemy off from the walls; and in these afterwards was the chief defence of the city.

On the seventeenth day, the enemy drew their forces closer together, and turn'd all their cannon upon two bastions, and a fort between them; and at the same time they begun an attack in three bodies; the cannon thundring night and day. In the mean while, they brought their works nearer, and mines were dug under the fortifications, altho' they were often disturbed by frequent sallies from the city. At length, on the twenty third day, they sprung two mines, but with little damage. On the twenty fifth another mine being sprung a great breach was made in the wall. Hereupon they advanc'd on both sides to battle; a sharp and doubtful engagement; but at length the enemy was defeated with great slaughter. The day after, letters were sent into the city, tied to an arrow, in which they threatned, that unless they immediately surrendred, the city, which God,

the avenger of violated alliances, had doom'd to destruction, should be utterly destroy'd. There were assaults made incessantly, by their mines, by their cannon, and by their attempts upon the out-works of the city; and tho' in every onset the enemy was repuls'd with loss, yet since they abounded in numbers of men, they did not suffer so much damage by the great numbers that were killed, as the besieg'd did by the slaughter of a few. On the 4th of *August*, one of the out-works being weakned by a mine, the enemy took it; but were presently dispossest of it with great loss and consternation. Every day some part of the fortifications was taken by springing of the mines, and again recover'd by force. Inward ramparts were rais'd by the besieg'd between the walls and the out-works, that tho' the outworks were taken, the enemy might be kept off by these new defences.

At length, on the 3^d of *September*, the *Turks*, after great effusion of their

own blood, took the *Ravelin*, being first shaken with their mines; the day after there was another breach made thirty paces wide; but a fence of earth being thrown up, they were hindered from entering. By these ruins, they carried their mines up to the very walls. On the 6th of *September*, there was a breach opened in the wall six and thirty paces wide: But the besieg'd, when they saw the walls of the city levelled, set themselves in their stead, and drove the enemy, who were obstructed by the ruins, back to their camp. In the night a great mole of earth was thrown into the place of the ruin'd fortification. The city being now straitned with extreme necessity, on the 7th of *September* news was brought that the Christian army was at hand. Upon which there was a much fiercer attack made than before. The day after, by springing of mines the city was laid open with more breaches; but the more resolutely the enemy push'd on, so much the more bravely were they repuls'd. In the mean while,

while, the *Turks* prepar'd for battle, in order to which they took a muster of their army, and from the beginning of the siege they had lost forty eight thousand five hundred and forty four. Now the 12th of *September*, that most memorable day, began to dawn, and at the breaking of the day, the Christian army advanc'd towards the camp of their enemies; the King of *Poland* led up the right wing, *Lorrain* the left, the Princes of the Empire, *Saxony*, *Bavaria*, and *Waldeck*, brought up the main body, every one commanding their own troops. They mov'd slowly towards the enemy, who therefore (as it seem'd) came on with greater warmth. The army stood unmov'd; while the enemy mov'd round they advanc'd nearer; and as they wheel'd about, they pushed them before them towards the camp: The Christians, barely by moving, urg'd them on. The enemy fought and gave way. At length, the *Turks* being affrighted at the steadiness and constancy of the Christians, and the wonderful order of the whole
4 army,

army, retire hastily towards their camp ; where they fought more briskly for some hours : But at length the *Turks* being overcome, rather by the courage of the Christians, than by the slaughter of their men, are put into a precipitate flight, every one taking the nearest way to escape. It is reported that the Grand Vizier himself set the example, and began the flight. Their camp was taken, with an infinite booty of all sorts. The warlike stores were carried into the Emperor's armory ; the other things were given to the soldiers for plunder. There was so great a sum of money, that almost every common soldier was made wealthy with it. The Grand Vizier's tent fell to the lot of the King of *Poland* ; in which he lodg'd that night. From hence, and from the other tents of the *Bashaws*, he is said to have receiv'd several millions of gold, besides a vast quantity of household furniture of great value. The *Germans* were less greedy of the prey, thinking themselves happy enough in that they were

were so suddenly deliver'd from destruction, beyond their hopes; at which they stood amaz'd, and could scarcely believe it. There was one thing memorable in this battle; that at the same time that the battle was fought in the open field, the attack of the city was carried on with more fierceness by the *Turks*; whether thro' courage or fear, is uncertain; either because they thought themselves equal to both the battle and the siege, or rather, that the city being taken, if they were defeated in their camp, they might make their retreat to the fortifications of the city. In this last assault, there was a very wide breach made in the walls; but cannons being immediately planted in the gap, for some time kept back the enemy from rushing in. *Staremborg* acquainted *Lorrain* in what condition the city was. He immediately sent the Prince of *Baden* to his relief with eight thousand men. These attacking the *Turks*, who expected no enemy from that quarter, and a sally being made out of the city at the same

same time, they kill'd six thousand Janizaries in the very trenches, being clos'd in before and behind,

This was the order and end of this remarkable siege. A more glorious siege than this, no former age ever beheld; nor perhaps will any future ever produce a parallel. We have mention'd one or two before, *Stetin* and *Triers*, under *Crequi*, which perhaps were press'd with equal resolution, and defended with no less bravery: But no city was ever reduc'd to an equal extremity of danger, which either did not yield, or was not taken. But *Staremburg* would suffer nothing in common with other men, but only death. Being often left bare of walls, he engaged, as in the open field; nor was it, to the last, so much a siege as a battle; nor did he only repel the enemy from the walls, which is victory enough for the besieg'd, but fighting a fair battle, he rais'd the siege with the utter destruction of the enemy. Many famous battles follow'd; but I wou'd rather end with this most memorable of all,

all, than afterwards relate some that are less in respect of this, tho' great in themselves. I have put all these war-like affairs together, not so much observing the order of time, as of the subject. For in these is contain'd the history of all the evils which the violation of the triple alliance brought upon the *European* world. Hence proud mortals may learn upon what small turns of affairs the greatest occurrences among men depend; and by how small a fire, (even tho' it be an *ignis fatuus*) the most impetuous flames are rais'd.



Bp. *PARKER*'s
HISTORY
OF
His Own Time.

BOOK IV.

THE sixth of those deadly sins which I mention'd before, was an act of Toleration, which the King was prevail'd upon to grant, whereby too great a liberty in Religion was granted to the Sectaries. This factious set of men that I spoke of, had always with unwearied diligence cultivated that nursery

nursery of all evils. But that which they had so often attempted in vain, they now obtain'd almost without labour: For a war with the *Dutch* was now resolv'd upon. The enemy had in every former war prompted the Sectaries to rebellion; who being of themselves too much inclin'd to sedition and discord, always broke out with more violence when the enemy urg'd them to it: Therefore the factious gave it as their advice, that there would be a seasonable remedy applied to this evil, if they were voluntarily indulg'd; that by so unexpected and free a courtesy they would be very well pacified; that the most prudent Emperors and Kings had done the same in every age: Thus *Constantine* the Great, altho' he persecuted the *Donatists*, the Sectaries of that age, with all the severity of punishment; yet when he was engaged in the war with *Licinius*, being compelled by necessity, he by a letter sent to *Verinus* his Deputy in *Africa*, not only gave them a toleration, but commanded that
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those that were condemn'd should be releas'd from banishment. The same Emperor, by his Edict which he sent to *Bassus*, his Vicar General in *Italy*, voluntarily left to the *Novatians* (the Puritans of former ages) their Churches and Coemeteries *. Also the Emperors *Honorius* and *Arcadius*, than whom none of the Emperors made more or sharper laws against Schismatics, especially against the *Donatists*, whom they pursued with utter hatred, and at last rooted out of the world; yet when the matter was almost finish'd, the *Goths* happening to break into *Africa*, in this juncture of danger, granted liberty unask'd for, to the Schismatics, lest they should go over to the enemy, as they had done before, when *Gildo* rebell'd. Likewise the generous temper of *Valentinian* the elder is commended, because by an Edict he granted to all the Sectaries the liberty of worshiping according to their own way and persuasion. And altho' he was an Emperor very famous for his prudence, yet he is

* *Cod. Th.*
de Heret.
leg. 2.

in no respect more celebrated than for this generous clemency. For thus the

Historian* commended it in these words. * *Ammian.*

He grew famous by this last piece of conduct in the administration of his Govern- *an. Mar-*

ment, because he stood neuter amongst the differences of Religion, neither did he

disturb any one, nor force any one to this or that sort of worship, nor by threat-

ning Interdicts bow down the necks of his subjects, to what he himself was inclin'd

to, but left the parties, as he found them ‡.

‡ *De Fide Cath. l. 4.*

After his example, an Edict was published by *Valentinian* the younger, in

which he gave leave to the *Arians*, no less than to the *Catholicks*, to assemble

for their worship, denouncing the penalty of treason against those that attempted

the contrary. † *Theodosius* the Great † *Soc. l. 3.*

banishing all Hereticks that dissented from *c. 10.*

the faith, by law commanded that the *Novatians*, since they agreed in the faith,

should be permitted to hold their meetings within the city, and enjoy their

Churches. And others were known to

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have

have done the same; not only Emperors, but Prelates. *Neither before the times of Celestine* (let the truth of this depend upon this approv'd Historian) *were the Churches taken from them; he first of all compell'd them to hold their meetings in private houses; when the Roman Episcopate transgressing its bounds had for some time degenerated into tyranny* *. They urg'd farther, that *Maximus* the tyrant alone inflicted capital punishment upon the *Priscillianists*: That the other Emperors not only indulg'd the Christian Hereticks, but Heathens, Jews, *Manichees* and Apostates, as every one thought fit. That these are the chief articles in the *Theodosian Codes*; and the prudence of those times consisted chiefly in this moderation. Thus *Baldwin*, and thus *Thuanus*, men esteemed very conversant both in the records of the Church, and the laws of the Emperors, thought that sword and blood-shed, banishment and forfeitures, rather provok'd than heal'd the disease: That all other things are subject to the will

* *Idem.*
l. 7. c. 12.

will of Kings, but Religion alone cannot be controlled: That this is infus'd only by the grace of God: That persecutions conduce nothing to it: That there is need of teaching and instruction; for mens minds may be invited and won over, not forced: That violence offer'd to conscience, is turn'd into rage: That it is a sore which will not bear to be touch'd: That most of the Kings of *Europe* had had too much experience of it. Hence arose the wars of the last century in *Germany*, *Spain* and *France*. Hence Princes were murder'd, Kingdoms overturn'd, Provinces wasted, Cities spoil'd, because they claim'd to themselves a supremacy in matters of Religion. What heavy ruins did *Francis* the Second, *Charles* the Ninth, and *Henry* the Third, bring upon themselves and their Kingdoms! With what lamentable, and almost utterly-destructive wars was *Germany* worn out, because the liberty of exercising Religion was suppress'd! *Spain* had fallen into the same danger, had not *Ferdinand*, who succeeded

Charles the Fifth, finding that all the wars under his brother, in which he himself commanded, succeeded but ill in the affair of Religion, granted peace and liberty to the Sectaries by a solemn Edict. Hence there was a profound tranquillity to him and his dominions. Who can doubt but that *Margaret* of *Parma*, by her indulgence preserv'd *Holland*, that was inclin'd to a revolt? And that *Alva*, on the other hand, lost it by a harsh and hasty severity? Lastly, lest all the examples, which are almost innumerable, should be brought, let the King only remember the example of his good Father: He was a Prince of the greatest goodness and clemency, than whom no one ever govern'd more justly, more modestly, and (which prevails most with the people) more frugally; yet he, suffering himself to be influenc'd by the Priests, and making use of severity against the Puritans, turn'd their patience into fury; for they are a bold and turbulent sort of men, who if they humbly supplicate any thing, and do not obtain

obtain it, generally extort it by violence and arms. Lastly, let him consider only his own times. From the time that the Act of Uniformity was pass'd against the Sectaries, he has struggled with yearly, and almost monthly conspiracies; and they will never lay aside their animosities and hatred, till they are overcome and softned by the King's indulgence; which since it is a free gift, and proceeds only from his own good-will, there is no doubt but that a kindness so extraordinarily granted, will above measure oblige them: That it is not for the King's honour to perform the office of an executioner: That *Nero* first defiled himself with human blood, shed for Religion: That the best Emperors, though most addicted to Gentile superstition, always abstain'd from inflicting punishments upon Christians. Neither was it agreeable to the natural goodness and clemency of his temper, that his subjects should be tormented with unnecessary punishments. Lastly, that it was always a particular maxim of his Royal

Majesty, that force was the worst and most improper remedy that could be used to preserve the peace of the Church: That divisions were never to be heal'd by wars and forfeitures, but by treaties and friendly conferences: That he should therefore follow the bent of his own natural temper, and not suffer himself to be biaſſed by the malignity and mistaken zeal of other men. The King being won over by these and such like persuasions, on the 15th of *March*, by a publick Declaration, granted every one the liberty of his own Religion. Nor perhaps would it have been amiss, had not the factious made use of his clemency to the service of their evil designs. Neither indeed is this a matter of strict duty, but discretion. So that the most eager defenders of the Church always yielded to the necessity of the times; for remedies that prevail in peace may perhaps be of no use in war. As long as he had every thing quiet abroad, it was not difficult to restrain the Schismatics with the just rigor of laws;

but being to carry on so great a war, as he design'd, he thought that the minds of these men were to be sooth'd as much as possible. Notwithstanding, the factious turn'd a thing that was not ill-advis'd at that time, to a very different end; for thereupon two very great misfortunes befell the King: First, a difference between him and his Parliament: Secondly, an army of Rebels list'd, and always in a readiness for rebellion. Thus, from that unhappy day, all the tranquillity of the Kingdom was destroy'd; nor did the inclination towards ruin stop, till it had broken out almost into a civil war. First of all, the Parliament grew tumultuous; not being solicitous now, as formerly they were, for the Church and Religion; but lest something worse should happen to themselves, their only care now was about their own prerogative and power. They do not deny that the thing might be done; but they do not allow it to be done without the authority of Parliament. The King, on the other hand,

X 4 affirm'd,

affirm'd, that the supreme power in ecclesiastical affairs was always in the Kings of *England*, and never before disputed, and therefore he would always assert his right: That he would not have the laws of right and wrong cancell'd; neither was this law repeal'd, whose penalties he had only suspended for a time; but that he had done it to pacify some factious minds, being forced by the necessity of war, of which he was the only judge. Lastly, that he would give his Parliament leave to consult upon it as they thought fit. On the contrary, the Parliament warmly alledg'd that it was not lawful for any Kings of *England* to suspend any laws whatsoever, even for a moment: That this Prerogative was never claim'd before by his Ancestors: That they were sycophants who insinuated that it was: That if that was allow'd, the supreme government of the Kingdom would be subverted; for that consists in the making of laws, which is done only in Parliament. At length, the King giving way to the obstinacy

nacy of the Parliament, did with his own hand, as a confirmation of the matter, tear asunder the Declaration of Indulgence, before the Lords of his Privy Council; and by the President of the Council reported to the House of Lords how it was done, that the perpetual remembrance of it might be preserved in their Journals. (*Proc. Diar. Mart. 8. 1673.*) The whole consideration of this affair being now referr'd to the two Houses, they proceeded to make a new law, which they call'd an Act of Ease or Indulgence; by which alone, all the laws which they had pass'd before against Schismatics, were repeal'd. (*Diar. Comm. Feb. 27. 1673.*) That all dissenting Protestants who would subscribe only to the articles of faith in the Church of *England*, leaving out those about Discipline and Government, should have liberty to hold their Meetings: That they should be exempted from all fines, by which every one was oblig'd to go to his own Parish-Church: That the assent that was requir'd by the

Act of Uniformity to be given by a Clergyman, and also the Abjuration of the Solemn League and Covenant, should be taken off for ever: That they should with impunity perform their own offices of divine Worship: And that their Preachers should have their places of meeting assign'd them at the quarterly Sessions. The Peers also consented to the thing; but not to the manner of it: They voted thrice that the Indulgence should be granted to every one; but it was variously disputed on each side, whether it should be granted by the King, or by the Justices of the Peace; till at length the moderate counsel of *Sheldon* (which I mention'd before) that they should only acknowledge that the war against King *Charles* the First was unlawful, hush'd up the whole matter in silence: Thus it was left unfinish'd; which so provok'd the Parliament, that they were prorogued for a year. In the mean time, the factious successfully finish'd the matter, which they had so often attempted in vain before; which
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was done thus: An Assembly of the several Factions being call'd, the place of meeting, which every one chose for himself, was granted him by Royal Authority. Hence the several stations of the Sectaries were conveniently fixed all over the Nation, and about forty or fifty Conventicles set up in every county. In these they took an account of the number of Sectaries, and sent it to *London*, to their General Assembly, who from thence were allow'd, without molestation, to promote their separate interest. Neither truly were these diligent men wanting to their cause; their numbers were daily increas'd, as the temper of the common people is daily inclinable to change. Hence new calculations were often made. Thus, under a pretence of Religion, soldiers were lifted every where, and a leader appointed to every troop, and their stations fixed on every side, as seem'd most convenient for sudden eruptions; nor was any one allow'd to be without arms. And lastly, all things were provided for

an immediate rupture. Thus, by the resolute agreement of the Sectaries with one another, all seditions were daily form'd from that time against the Commonwealth.

The last of the deadly sins was committed against the Parliament (than which nothing is dearer to the People of *England*;) for a modern custom that began in 1640, had prevail'd to this time, that when any Members of Parliament died, the Parliament should acquaint the Chancellor with it; which being done, writs were issued out by him for the electing others into the places of the deceased. On the contrary, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, Lord High Chancellor of *England*, when he had a mind to have some of his creatures chosen into the Parliament, by a sudden and private election, in some of the obscurer Boroughs, issued out writs for election, of his own accord, without any information from the Parliament, and even before their meeting. On the first day of their assembling, a considerable number of new Members appear'd.

appear'd. Hence there was a murmur and enquiry run thro' the seats of the House, who, and whence these strangers were? and the matter being presently discover'd, they were all immediately expell'd the House. Hence there was a great deal of anger and hatred against the Chancellor. And he cast all the fault (if there was any) upon the King. He affirm'd, that by this proceeding the Royal Right was asserted, which was derived from the earliest antiquity; neither was it taken away, till the rebellious Parliament prevail'd; that therefore the King did only renew an ancient prerogative of all his Ancestors, which was lost not long ago in open rebellion; and unless he did it speedily, and before a long custom had established it, he would give up one of the brightest jewels of his Crown, with the reproach of indolence and neglect. They should therefore only examine their own records, and they would find no instance of their new custom before the Rebellion.

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It was inquir'd into, and found as it was said. Nevertheless, the Parliament persisted in maintaining their new privilege; saying that the prerogative was of no advantage while lodg'd in the King; but if it was in their hands, it would be a great benefit to the Kingdom, that there might be no clandestine elections carried on, as now, by the Chancellor. Neither was the matter altogether disagreeable to the King: For he began to have a suspicion of the Chancellor in all his consultations, and thought of removing him from his place. Neither indeed was it so much a dispute of right, as of parties. The Chancellor, on the account of that dignity, had a great interest in his own county of *Dorset*, especially amongst the Sectaries, by whose assistance, in all elections of Members, he endeavour'd to have men chosen, that were approv'd by himself. *Strangways* always oppos'd him; a man of an antient and illustrious family, famous both for wealth and fidelity. He had serv'd under *Charles*
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the First in all his wars, with great bravery; and done and suffer'd every thing which a brave man could do and suffer. In all times he was constant in his duty, without any breach of his integrity; and a courageous and undaunted defender of the Royal Cause, even when it was breathing out its last, and entirely subdued. He was also very popular, by his affable and courteous behaviour towards all men, whence no one had more interest in his country; and therefore most elections there were made according to his inclination. When the Chancellor durst not venture openly to oppose his great interest, he attempted to evade it by this artifice; for whereas about that time, four Members chosen for the Boroughs of that county were dead, he clandestinely put in four of his party into the seats of the deceased. Hereupon *Strangways* was provok'd; and since he had long prevail'd with no less interest in the Parliament, than amongst his own countrymen, as soon as he complain'd of this matter, he

he incensed all the Parliament against the Chancellor, who was before hated by many Members of it. The Chancellor struggled for some time against it, but being surrounded by so many enemies on every side, he found he must retreat as well as he could. He had long known the Duke of *York's* hatred to him: The administration of the Chancellor had long displeas'd that Prince; and he griev'd that he was advanc'd to so great a power. The Chancellor dreaded his anger most of all, for he knew him to be an enemy who did not use to lay down his arms till his enemies were overcome. His greatest hope had long been in the clemency of the King; when therefore he perceived that the King had withdrawn his favour from him, being left bare of his defence, he began to think of a surrender. When he saw that he was thus sharply attack'd by the Parliament, who would give the King nothing, unless he was remov'd entirely from the administration; and would deny nothing if he was: Lastly, when

when he had heard that articles of impeachment were prepar'd against him, forming from hence certain presages of his impending ruin; and his case being desperate at Court, he openly fled to the party of the Sectaries, and every where pour'd out the same complaints with theirs. First of all he inveigh'd against the Papists, that unless speedy care was taken to prevent it, the Protestant Religion would be destroy'd: That every thing look'd in favour of *Rome*: That he would rather lose his life, than his Religion: And therefore exhorted all who had their Religion at heart, that they would rise with one consent against idolaters: That he was not ignorant that he should do a thing very displeasing to the Courtiers, and did not doubt but he should therefore be remov'd from his dignity; but that the salvation of his soul was dearer to him than the Empire of the whole World: How much soever the victory might cost, *Rome* should be subdued; *Carthage* might now stand safe, for him. And

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by these insinuations, he so successfully crept into the hearts of the people, that they reverenc'd and embrac'd him as the only Father of their Country, and as a Deliverer descended from Heaven. He was presently attended by a great body of Nobility; and altho' he was accus'd but yesterday in the lower House, yet no one was now so popular there. Neither were there wanting Divines, who in their publick writings celebrated him as the only Preserver of Religion; who had perform'd a work of no less glory than danger; whose fame, like that of the woman in the Gospel (they promis'd) should endure for ever. Amongst these tumults, before he went out of his office, he procur'd two Laws to be made: One against the Papists, by which they were excluded from all offices, both civil and military, except upon certain conditions, contrary to their persuasion. The other was, an Act of general oblivion. Which being pass'd, (for it was more extensive than was ever granted before) he would immediately become *rectus in curiâ*, (to speak in the language

guage of the Law) so that no one could charge him with any of his past male-administration. He was depriv'd of all power when he had not been at the head of affairs a whole year: He came into the office of Chancellor, *Nov. 17. 1672.* and was ejected thence on the 9th of the same month of the following year. *Bridgman* obtain'd that office, after the removal of the Earl of *Clarendon*; a man of entire fidelity to the King, throughout his whole life, an uncorrupt Judge, famous for his equitable and skilful administration of the Law. In *Cromwell's* times, the just authority of the Courts being taken away, he forbore pleading: But altho' he was publickly silent, he was privately a Counsellor to the King's Friends; and there were not a few whom he preserv'd from the iniquity of the times: Justice returning, together with the King, he was at length advanc'd thro' all the degrees in the Law, to the custody of the Great Seal. Nor did he ever err, as far as I know, but once; being led

aside by others in the affairs of the Church. This modest man being overcome by the haughty and yet flattering brow of some Churchmen, offended against the Rites of the Church; for they chiefly made use of his authority in composing that which they call'd a Comprehension; otherwise he was a sincere favourer and son of the Church of *England*. It so happen'd, that at that time the Creditors cited the Bankers (whose money *Shaftsbury* had shut up in the King's Exchequer) into the King's-Bench, that they might be paid what they themselves had borrow'd. The Bankers appeal'd to the Court of Chancery; for if their appeal had been accepted, by the authority of that Court, there had been a stop put to the Judgment of any other. For such is the power of the Chancellor, that he can issue out a Prohibition at his pleasure, to stop the proceedings of the other Courts. But *Bridgman* being very much provok'd at the baseness of this practice, dismiss'd the unjust Appeal; not without setting a mark of in-

famy upon it. *Shaftsbury* complain'd of the boldness of this proceeding, saying, that the reproach was chiefly cast upon his Majesty; that it upbraided him with shutting up the Exchequer: For had not he done that, the Bankers would have been capable of paying: And lastly, that it was his cause, not theirs: That therefore he should protect them a little while, for a year only, by his Royal Authority; in which time the Exchequer would pay them their debts: That if *Bridgman* refus'd to grant the King so equitable a request, he was not a fit person to whom the King should commit the next power to his own: That truly, if it was in his power, he would afford refuge to the distress'd Bankers. Hereupon *Bridgman* was gently laid aside, and *Shaftsbury* put into his place. He presently perform'd his promise, embracing the Bankers that appeal'd to him, and issuing out Prohibitions against the other Courts, that they should not proceed to judge in their cause. Thus justice was restrain'd for almost a year;

but when he found that he should shortly fall from his dignity, he himself revers'd his own Prohibitions.

As long as he was at the head of the Ministry, he boasted that every thing was done prosperously and piously: In his speech which he made to the Parliament, on the 5th of *February*, 1673. he congratulated the Kingdom for the great prudence and goodness of the King, because when he carried on foreign wars, the whole nation enjoy'd all the plenty of peace: That the King, by the mildness of his government, kept the minds of all his subjects engaged to him: That nothing was cultivated so much, as the publick tranquillity, and the mutual agreement of all at home: That there was a more than conjugal affection between the King and Parliament, never to be cut off by any divorce: That all things were safe, and there was no room left for unjust suspicions, nor even for calumnies: That in the King alone, Religion in general, the Church of *England* in particular, every

every one's Rights, the equitable administration of the Laws, the honour of Parliaments, and every thing that can make us happy, was entirely safe. What therefore remain'd to be wish'd for by every honest *Englishman*, but that the reign of so good a King might be continued for many years, and the triple alliance between King, Parliament and People might never be broken? But no sooner was he commanded to withdraw from the Court, than he fled to the city of *London*, and went daily to the *Exchange*, attended by his followers, as if he had gone thither to make his market, and turn stock-jobber; and fetching a deep sigh, he said, Alas! my Countrymen, how desperate is the present condition of *England*! this is the only thing that is now design'd, that the laws being set aside every thing should be subject to the lust and pleasure of the Courtiers: That the Papists and *French* Pensioners plainly shew this: That all the power was in their hands: That he had long

withstood them, but in vain: That it was a crime to complain, or sigh in Court: That he was therefore remov'd; and unless they took immediate care, they would too late endeavour to relieve their Country: That they might find from the late transactions, whither matters tended: That the triple alliance was violated, in defiance of the Laws of Nations, only that we might enter into an alliance with the Popish King of *France*, against the good Protestants the *Dutch*: That a war was opened against the *Dutch*; before it was proclaim'd, no Herald being sent to proclaim it: That a Toleration of Religions was granted, not because there was any tenderness towards the scrupulous consciences of Dissenting Protestants, but that a way might be open'd for the Jesuits and *Romish* Priests to come into *England*: That all the force of Laws was taken away at the sole pleasure of the King; for if it was lawful for him to suspend them for a moment, he might continue that suspension for ever: That therefore

fore the Parliament resented it very much; and altho' the King strove against it with more resolution than usual, yet being at length overcome by the resentment of the Parliament, he was constrain'd to pretend to repeal it, and that tho' the Indulgence that was allowed to the Protestants, was made void, yet the same liberty was still continued to the Papists, even to this day. Moreover, with what barbarous and unheard-of injustice, were the fortunes of almost all his subjects snatch'd from them, by shutting up the Exchequer! What regard to right could there be in that Kingdom in which such tyranny was committed! And lastly, not only the private rights of subjects were violated, but even the liberties of Parliament were struck at; since, contrary to law and custom, new Members were clandestinely elected into the places of the deceas'd, without the knowledge of Parliament, that a passage might be opened for Courtiers and *French* Pensioners to come into the House: That therefore
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the Parliament had resented it with uncommon anger and indignation; and above others, those that were most famous for their fidelity to the King, such as was *Strangways*, a man entirely free from all suspicion of faction.— Hence there was sufficient matter furnish'd for complaints: Hence a blind and panick fear was struck into the people: Hence there were fears and complaints about the streets, as if the city was plunder'd: Thus in a short time, the city was not only drawn from all duty to the King, but there seemed to be a new and opposite Republick set up within it. A great Assembly was chosen, which sate in a tavern near the *Exchange*; then lesser Meetings were settled at certain distances. These perform'd different offices: Some confirm'd with wine and drunkenness those whom they found inclin'd to faction. Others scatter'd letters pregnant with lies in their several Provinces on every side; and they all agreed in this one thing, to cast all the past counsels and actions of *Shaftsbury*,
which

which were now condemn'd by him and his followers, upon the King and his Ministers, who were the chief in power upon his removal, and especially the Duke of *York*, by whose counsel, chiefly, he was remov'd. Amongst these schools and academies of Sedition, the most famous was a meeting at a tavern at the sign of King *Henry* the Eighth, against the *Temple*. The members of this Cabal were much superior to the rest in impudence, because most of them were Lawyers, which sort of men boasting of their skill in the Law, thereby added confidence to others that were less experienc'd. Thus they at length proceeded to that degree of arrogance, that when they went abroad, they distinguish'd themselves by a green ribbon round their hats, as a badge of their society. From this school the chief officers came forth into that Rebellion which afterwards broke out. Moreover, there were infamous and virulent books that were dispers'd about in great numbers amongst the common people.

Amongst these lewd Revilers, the lewdest was one whose name was *Marvel*. As he had liv'd in all manner of wickedness from his youth, so being of a singular impudence and petulancy of nature, he exercised the province of a Satyrist, for the use of the Faction, being not so much a Satyrist thro' quickness of wit, as sowerness of temper; of but indifferent parts, except it were in the talent of railing and malignity. Being abandon'd by his father, and expell'd the University, he afterwards made his conscience more cheap than he had formerly made his reputation. A vagabond, ragged, hungry Poetafter, being beaten at every tavern, he daily receiv'd the rewards of his sawciness in kicks and blows. At length, by the interest of *Milton*, to whom he was somewhat agreeable for his ill-natur'd wit, he was made Under-secretary to *Cromwell's* Secretary. Pleas'd with which honour, he publish'd a congratulatory poem in praise of the Tyrant; but when he had a long time labour'd to squeeze out a panegyrick,

rick, he brought forth a satyr upon all rightful Kings; saying that *Cromwell* was the sun, but other Monarchs were flow bodies, slower than *Saturn* in their revolutions, and darting more hurtful rays upon the earth. That if each of their reigns were to be continued to the *Platonic* age, yet no King would ever do any good to the world: That it was the purpose of them all to bring their subjects into slavery: That they pursue no enemy but their own countrymen: That they wage war against foreigners unwillingly, and because they are forc'd to it, but voluntarily and freely against their own people; neither do they cease from it, till they can treat them as conquer'd slaves; nor do they fight against them only, but also against God: That they are all drunk with the enchantments of the Whore of *Babylon*: That they fight for Antichrist, against the Lamb: That they serve the *Roman* Whore: That they not only desert, but hinder the work of the Lord, begun in this age by his saints, under the auspicious conduct of *Cromwell*. But

But the King being restor'd, this wretched man falling into his former poverty, did, for the sake of a livelihood, procure himself to be chosen Member of Parliament for a Borough, in which his father had exercis'd the office of a Presbyterian teacher, and done notable service in the Rebellion: For there was an ancient custom, that the expences of those that were elected into Parliament, should be born by the Borough for which they were chosen, at the rate of five shillings a day. This custom had a long time been antiquated and out of date, Gentlemen despising so vile a stipend, that was given like alms to the poor; yet he requir'd it for the sake of a bare subsistence, altho' in this mean poverty he was nevertheless haughty and insolent. In all Parliaments he was an enemy to the King's affairs, being one of those Conspirators, who being sixty in number, of the remains of the Rebellion, had bound themselves by oath, from the beginning, to give all the trouble they could to the
King,

King, and especially never to vote for granting any taxes. But these men had little weight in that Assembly, being look'd upon with shame and disgrace; so that if they would do no good, they could do no hurt; for they were hardly ever suffer'd to speak without being hiss'd at; and our Poet could not speak without a sound basting: Wherefore, having frequently undergone this discipline, he learn'd at length to hold his tongue. But out of the House, when he could do it with impunity, he vented himself with the greater bitterness, and daily spewed infamous libels out of his filthy mouth against the King himself.

If at any time the Fanaticks had occasion for this libeller's help, he presently issued forth out of his cave, like a gladiator, or a wild beast. But this *Bustuarius*, or fencer, never fought with more fury, than near his own grave, in a book written a little before his death, to which he gave this title, *Commentaries concerning the Growth of Popery, and Tyrannical Government in England.*
In

In which, after he had complain'd that the Papists had a long time laid in wait to subvert the Kingdom, and had accomplish'd their intended villany, unless *Shaftsbury*, with his associates, had interpos'd; he begun his scurrilous discourse with those seven deadly sins before-mentioned, by which he said it was almost to a miracle, that the Kingdom was not ruin'd. He spoke to this effect:

That the triple alliance was basely violated, contrary to the Law of Nations; and the alliance with the *French*, against the *Dutch*, was a matter equally treacherous and dangerous: That the *Dutch* were free from all manner of imputation of blame, and had inviolably perform'd and kept all the articles of peace, with a religious strictness: That even in the lowering the flag, they were more officious than was necessary: That causes of war were studiously sought for, but none could be found: And lastly, it was undertaken almost without any pretence. And much more of the like nature.

A shrewd

A shrewd man, and a lucky advocate for his friends! who blacken'd the King, the States of the Kingdom, the Privy-Council, and all the chief Ministers of State, that he might celebrate the merits of *Shaftsbury's* party, who had deserved so well from their country, and therefore began with so evident and notorious a lie. For whatsoever was secretly done by others, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was the only publick author and adviser of that counsel. His Speeches to the Parliament were cried in the streets; one spoken on the 5th of *February*, another on the 27th of *October* following; which was but thirteen days before his fall from the Chancellorship, (for he was turn'd out *November* the 9th) in which, with great vehemence, he urg'd on the *English* to the destruction of *Carthage*. In one he affirm'd, that the *Dutch* were treacherous truce-breakers, and had not only refus'd the right of the flag thro' the ocean, but insisted in all the Courts of *Europe*, that it should be taken away: That they had

a natural hatred of the *English*, both thro' emulation, and their own temper and disposition: That the war must end in the destruction either of them, or us: That the safety of the one depended upon the destruction of the other; and that there would be no end of the war, unless the *Dutch* were destroy'd. Therefore as it was begun with the greatest prudence by the King, and desir'd with the greatest resolution and fidelity by the Parliament, he exhorted them, that what was unanimously undertaken, might with the same general zeal be brought to a conclusion: And if any one relinquish'd it sooner, he would be guilty of the basest treachery to his country. In the other he said, that the King hop'd to have met his Parliament with a token of the peace being finish'd; which he had done, had not a haughty, stubborn and base enemy designedly express'd a contempt of all the terms of peace: That he had requir'd such reasonable terms, that the Ministers who were the Arbitrators of the
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the Peace, and had stipulated for the faith given on each side, openly declar'd, that they should mediate to no purpose, unless they agreed upon those terms: That first of all, the King's Majesty requir'd nothing more for himself, than the ancient rights of his Ancestors in the *British* ocean, which had been allow'd them from the earliest remembrance of the Nation; for were the dominion of the sea to be destroy'd, no one would be hereafter King of this Nation: Also that the dignity should be restor'd to the Prince of *Orange*, which he had deriv'd from his forefathers: That only the *Lovestein* party, that republican faction of *Carthage*, oppos'd it: And lastly, that the rights of trading, especially in the *East Indies*, should stand according to the agreements that had been made between both Nations: That to these so just and moderate demands, the *Lovestein* faction return'd nothing but contempt and insolence; who as they had suck'd in, even from their nurse, an eternal ha-

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tred

tred to the *English*, so they would deliver it to posterity, as the only pledge of their duty to their country: That they not only offer'd libels to the Arbitrators of Peace, full of such contumelious language, that it was a shame to publish them, but despis'd all the terms of peace that were offer'd them, with an air of disdain: That after all this insolence, they presently sent a Minister into *England*, declaring that they would accept of any terms that the King should approve of, how hard soever. But their undertaking was vain, since they found nothing but war prepar'd against them. And then they appeal'd from the King to the people, with that saucy and unbecoming language, as if they were to treat with them, and not with the King, concerning peace and war; nor did they so much design a war abroad, as a rebellion at home: Lastly, that all their designs had this view, that taking away the entire possession of the sea from the *English*, they alone might have an absolute dominion
over

over the ocean, or (which they look upon as the same) over the whole world. Nor would their agreement with us in Religion, which was a pretence for making peace with them, be any security; for it had been too plainly found from the earliest memory and experience of mankind, that the same interest in worldly matters had brought differences of Religion to an agreement; but it was without example, that religious matters should put an end to a dispute, when it was for interest; and much more when it was for dominion. Lastly, that the end of this war was not for glory, nor for riches, nor for extending of empire; but that it was undertaken *pro aris & focis* (these were his very words.) If we are overcome, we shall no longer be a free people, but the prisoners of the Conqueror: As long as we possess the sea, it is (as it always was) a bulwark against our enemies; but should we lose that, every port would be turn'd into a prison. If therefore we had any remains of love for our

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country,

country, our liberty, and our families, the war must not be deferr'd a day ; we should otherwise perhaps too late endeavour to save them.

Behold now the modesty of our advocate ! who when he had charg'd the destruction of the Nation upon this one war against the *Dutch*, could yet with the same breath commend *Shaftsbury*, who alone persuaded and advis'd to it, as the only Preserver of his Country ! A great and notorious lie, I profess ! yet as great as it is, not unbecoming the modesty of the man !

Then he proceeds to charge the same Conspirators with shutting up the Exchequer, in these words : That the Kingdom was involv'd in a debt of two millions, or more : That the taxes given by the Parliament upon that account, were sufficient to discharge it ; but, as if they thought it an impious thing to apply the publick money to its proper uses ; instead of clearing the Treasury, as they had promised, they shut it up, when it was full of the fortunes of
private

private men, lest perhaps it should be made use of to any other purposes than the holy war or crusado, which they had design'd against the *Dutch*: That the thing was concerted privately amongst the Courtiers (who in his language were Conspirators) lest by a discovery of the wickedness, any abatement might be made of the greatness of it.

Hence, on a sudden, a Proclamation being publish'd on the first of *January* 1671, a vast sum of money which private persons had lent to the Treasury, was by manifest robbery taken from the proprietors; innumerable families were by publick plunder strip'd of all their fortunes, and the whole Nation, being astonish'd at such unheard of tyranny, despair'd of their own properties. That nothing is thought more infamous among men, than the depriving creditors of what is lent upon trust, when there is a possibility of payment: And that it is an act of villany never heard of before, that the King's Majesty, who had just before receiv'd very large taxes,

should by a solemn Edict, commit a noon-day-robbery upon the fortunes of his subjects. But if this was such an act of villany as, he says, was never heard of before, and even a noon-day robbery; I would only ask him who first contriv'd it? who advis'd? who persuaded to it? who put it in execution? lastly, when it was put in execution, who prevented its being expiated by a just payment? who, but the Earl of *Shaftsbury*?

This abandon'd wretch goes on: Thus it seem'd good to the Conspirators, to try how all honour and honesty might be first violated at home, that they might with greater confidence violate the same abroad: For it seem'd to be a sort of justice to treat all alike, whether enemies or countrymen; therefore having committed a robbery at home, they began a pyratrical war against the *Dutch* abroad; for they had religiously observed their treaties ever since the peace was made, and being conscious of their own piety, and therefore secure from
any

any fear of the *English*, they had freely traded in the *British* seas. Nevertheless, there was a design formed by the Conspirators, to surprize their fleet near the Isle of *Wight*, in their return from *Asia* and *Spain*; but it was so unskilfully managed, that they at once lost their booty, and broke their faith.

There has been enough said already, by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, concerning *Dutch* fidelity. But our wretched Poet is inflam'd with such inveterate hatred to his own country, that making a flattering excuse for the *Dutch*, he lays all their treachery to the charge of his own countrymen. I confess that the *English* once fail'd in their faith; but that was done when *Shaftsbury's* faction was in power. Neither did the King assent to them, till they had persuaded him that the solemn obligations of the alliance were broken by the *Dutch*. Neither indeed was there ever wanting occasion of complaint against the *Dutch*; for whatsoever they agreed to, they perform'd nothing. How great then is
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the modesty of the man, in crying out, that the war was begun without cause, when those very men begun it, whom he celebrates as the Preservers of his Country ! Neither indeed was the war unjust, tho' it was begun dishonourably by them, since, upon their removal, it was honourably carried on, and finish'd ; all the terms of peace being agreed to, which the King of *England* approv'd of, and likewise three hundred thousand pounds allow'd towards the charges of the war. Being bound by which alliance, they have ever since had the same friends and enemies with our selves.

Lastly, he attacks the liberty of Religion, which was granted to every one. By this one attempt, he says that the ancient wickedness of the gigantick race was renew'd ; and our Religion, which before was strengthened with so many Laws, was expos'd naked to its enemies, and power given both to the Papists and Sectaries, to form a siege on each side, against the Church of *England*, which cost so dear. Nor was the Church only,
but

but also the State subverted; for by the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, it is not lawful for any one to cancel what is establish'd by Laws; if the King himself should do this, he would be a paricide to his country: That this therefore was the greatest impudence in the Conspirators, such as, we never heard, was attempted in the memory of man: That now, by one instance, they were resolv'd to try whether the people of *England* would give their Kings so great an authority over the Laws: If this could be done with safety, there would be no occasion for the representatives of the people assembling in Parliament, to pass Laws: That the Conspirators aim'd at this one thing, that no check might be given by the Parliament to the indulgence granted by the King; but whatsoever he pleas'd might have the force of a Law.

Whether the Conspirators aim'd at tyranny, *Marvel* himself was certainly a proper person to give testimony, who if he was not their Secretary, was yet
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admitted into their inmost counsels, for the sake of his ancient friendship with them; therefore he was really the fittest person in the world to give evidence against his friends and masters. But what they principally aim'd at, was found by the event; an army of Rebels being immediately raised, which, when it should seem convenient, might rescue their rights and liberties from the extravagant tyranny of Kings; which was afterwards remarkably attempted, tho' it fail'd of success. Behold, in the mean time, the boundless and most intolerable impudence of these Traitors, that they, tho' contriving anarchy and confusion, should terrify the people with the fear of tyranny!

But the treachery of this drunken buffoon exceeded all others, who could now vehemently blame a thing as the greatest wickedness, which before he had affirm'd in his bitter writings to be every one's due, both by human and divine right. He chiefly claim'd liberty of conscience for the Sectaries; when
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the King had granted it, he did not stick to charge it with the tyranny of *Nero*, only that he might bring an odium and reproach upon his government. I will trace the matter a little farther back, because the Conspiracy of the Sec-taries took its rise from thence, which afterwards was brought by all manner of treachery, by lying, and by the most subtle artifices, to the height of an open Rebellion.

It happen'd about the year 1667, when the *English* Nation was groaning under the miseries of pestilence, fire and sword, that the Fanaticks, according to their usual custom, endeavour'd to bring a new plague of sedition upon their country, daily scattering libels among the common people, assuming the utmost liberty for themselves to exert their schismatical rage, and pleading that all laws, in ecclesiastical affairs, were unjust and impious; that every one ought by the right of nature to have the liberty of his own Religion; and that the supreme Being would not endure the great bold-

ness of Kings, in usurping a power over his supreme Kingdom of CONSCIENCE. Moreover, they threatned the King's Majesty with their numbers, for that the Puritans were not so weak or cowardly, but that they both could and would defend and preserve their liberty in Religion from all tyranny: That they had once, and not long since, by their own strength, shaken off an heavy yoke; and the King should take care, lest by his rashness so great a number of brave men might become his enemies. Amongst these, the chief were *Sir Charles Worstley*, and *Dr. John Owen*. *Worstley* was formerly of *Cromwell's* Privy-Council, and a great flatterer of his master, being one of those who would have set the Crown upon his head. But at the King's return, he voluntarily threw himself out of all the administration of publick affairs; and altho' the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had prepar'd a way for him to come into the King's Councils, yet he who not only submitted to, but kiss'd and embrac'd the

the slavery of the Tyrant, disdain'd to serve, or even obey his lawful Sovereign; for he was of the class of the Independents, which sect of men could not bear a Monarchy (except in *Cromwell* alone) either in Church or State, but affirm that all power is in the People; that appeals are to be made to the People, against the Magistrates; that their majesty is greater than that of Kings, who are created by them; that therefore Kings are accountable to the People, as their sovereign Lords; and if it be the will of their Lords, they may be depos'd: That there is no authority of Priests in the Church, no power of sacred Orders, no rights of Succession, but every one has a power of choosing, not so much a Priest, as I know not what sort of a Chaplain, if he pleases. What wonder is it, if men that could endure no government, could bear no laws? When therefore the present state of affairs seem'd to languish under the aforementioned difficulties, should meet together from all quarters, that

that whilst the strength of the Government was faint, that they might extort from it the restitution of their ancient liberty : Which being once granted, they wou'd not fear to engage with an enemy already broken by so many misfortunes. Which they afterwards did, as shall be related when we come to *Oates's* conspiracy, in which they attack'd the Government with all their force. In the mean while, *Worstley* publish'd his libel. About the same time, *John Owen* publish'd another, bearing this title, *An Apology for Liberty of Conscience*. In this book, undertaking the patronage of his party, he is not ashamed to praise the great loyalty of the Independents to the King, and, according to his modesty, to wipe off all accusations from his brethren, tho' he himself was dip'd in the blood of King *Charles* the First. But altho' he scribbles with rough and disagreeable language, with no weight of reason, and with an unheard-of licentiousness in lying, yet it makes no difference in the judgment of the people.

For

For provided something is written, whether well or ill, truly or falsely; (I say) provided there be a pamphlet written, they think their cause is sufficiently defended. He was from his youth a most indefatigable author and advocate of Rebellion. Amongst the Regicides themselves, he was the bitterest enemy of the Royal Blood, who vehemently exhorted to the commission of that most execrable wickedness; and in a sermon before the Regicides, prais'd and celebrated it when it was done; and, as a Prophet of God, he admonish'd and commanded them, to perfect on the Posterity, what (under the divine influence) they had begun in the Father; for it was pleasing to God, not only that the government of the whole family of the *Stuarts* should be utterly destroy'd, but that no one should hereafter be suffer'd to reign in *England*. But I need not say more of this famous Rebel now, since I may perhaps write the whole history of this wicked man.

Against these invasions of the enemy, I entred the lists, among others ; tho' too young to treat of such momentous affairs. I shew'd, that it was one thing for Kings to grant liberty of conscience to their subjects thro' their own indulgence, and another for subjects to claim it as their strict right. But if it be lawful for Kings to indulge them, yet it is a very dangerous thing to encourage several sects of Religion in the same Kingdom ; that every one of them would wage war against another, each of them would be an enemy to the rest, and all of them to the Church establish'd by Law : That a multitude of Religions is a certain source for civil wars : That it was found by the experience of all ages, that differences in Religion always ended in blows : That the Christian world had seldom been engaged in a civil war, which was not rais'd under a pretence of Religion : That those wars were carried on with more rancour and cruelty than those which were undertaken in behalf of Civil Liberty : That every one's Religion

ligion is dearest to them, and their temples and altars are of greater concern to them, than their own habitations and civil interests; therefore they will fight with greatest zeal for that which they value most; and 'tis certain, wars for the sake of Religion have always been most inveterate and destructive. If we consider the *European* Nations, how they have burnt with fatal wars in the last age, we shall find that they all proceeded from differences of Religion; and were never extinguish'd, till either the State was overthrown, or the Rebellion subdued. If we look upon *France* alone, what a dreadful effusion of blood did it suffer from the barbarity and insolence of the *Calvinists*, in the reigns of *Henry* the Second, *Francis* the Second, *Charles* the Ninth, *Henry* the Third, *Henry* the Fourth, and *Lewis* the Thirteenth? How did they lay plots for the life of the King, under pretence of presenting an humble petition, when *Francis* the Second was but a minor! How was *Charles* the Ninth treacherously assaulted at *Meldun*!

And had not the *Switzers*, with wonderful art and courage; and even to a miracle, secur'd him in the midst of spears, the intended villany had succeeded? How did they fight afterwards in open war, till the strength of *France* was exhausted, in several battles, with almost infinite blood-shed! How, in the reign of *Henry* the Third, did the principal Nobility of the Kingdom stir up that sect to arms against the King! for they had not strength enough to rebel without their assistance. As often as the Peers had an inclination to rise in arms, the Sectaries were always ready for war: And altho' in many battles, they were slain in great numbers, yet the Hydra presently shouting forth again, the war was more vigorously renew'd. What did *Henry* the Fourth afterwards obtain by yielding to the Faction, besides rendring them more impudent? for by heaping kindneses upon them, he was brought into suspicion of heresy, by his own popish subjects, whence they had a pretence and cover for their wicked

wicked league. Thus while he favour'd both sides, he pleas'd neither; but whilst he stood dubious between both, he had an enemy on each hand. And altho' at first they brought assistance to *Henry of Navarre*, in claiming his Crown, yet as soon as he embrac'd the *Romish* faith, they shew'd that they would assist *Henry* as a *Calvinist*, but not as a King. If he indulg'd them in any thing, they looked upon it as their own right; and abus'd the Edict of *Nantz*, and made it a pretence for war. Hence was the rise of the war against *Lewis* his son: Neither did they lay down their arms, till being depriv'd of all their forces at the taking of *Rochel*, they fell under the King's power.

Moreover, they who require liberty of conscience from Kings, as due to them by right, only aim at this, that the establish'd Religion being overthrown, their own may be set up in its stead; for since every one's own Religion is in his opinion the best, by the same law of conscience that commands him to

desire its liberty, he is also oblig'd to procure the encrease and propagation of it throughout the world, as far as he can. They will not therefore cease to endeavour it, till they have advanc'd their Religion to the highest pitch. This, and much more to the same purpose, I wrote concerning the right of Kings over the province of Conscience.

Nevertheless, tho' such is the right of Kings, yet they may at their pleasure recede from it; and there are several instances of it in the records of history; yet it has been seldom done by any prudent King, unless he was constrain'd to it by the straits of war; and then it was recall'd when the danger was remov'd: Therefore, the *Dutch* war being ended, they claim'd an indulgence too late from the King, who had now no enemy to fear.

But as to the right of subjects, which they claim, exempt from the power of Kings, in matters of Religion, if this be granted, it will overthrow all the right of Government: for nothing conduces

duces more to its establishment, or ruin, than Religion. If it be peaceable, sincere, moderate, modest, and mild; if it be obedient to the higher powers for conscience sake, it is much for the interest of Kings to cultivate the minds of their subjects with such principles. But if instead of Religion, there be enthusiastick rage; if it be superstition, mix'd with a fond credulity; if it be sullen, morose, and cruel, and tainted with harsh opinions of God; lastly, if it be such as theirs is too plainly found to be; if you give them a liberty of teaching what every one pleases, you open *Pandora's* box full of evils: For if there be an universal liberty desir'd, that is confin'd within no bounds, there will be another power set up in the Kingdom, not only a rival, but a power always jarring with the King's. For why? Are not Kings God's Vice-gerents? Yet what is there that acts in God's stead, upon earth, with more strict and sacred laws than Conscience? Have Kings a power to determine concerning right and

wrong? But the judgment of Conscience has greater power, being the highest tribunal under God. Can Kings make laws concerning virtue? What is of greater force than Conscience alone to establish virtue and honesty? Can Kings chastise wickedness with fines and punishments? yet what can punish more severely than the whips and scourges of Conscience? Lastly, are not Kings subject to God alone? so Conscience suffers it self to be subject to no other Sovereign but God. Nay, this Empress Conscience, will govern not only with equal, but superior authority to Kings: They animadvert only upon outward actions; she keeps the secret thoughts of the mind, which refuse to be under human power, in subjection to her. Hence, as often as subjects are prompted to rebel against their Sovereigns, they are lifted under Conscience, which is exempt from all jurisdiction, and call'd forth to war. Under her conduct they rise in arms: By her beck and counsel, all the madness of the people is turn'd into Religion;

gion ; every thing sacred is violated by fanatick rage. Whithersoever every one's Conscience calls him, they madly follow. Whether they kill Kings, murder the Nobility, break the peace of the Church, and involve themselves in Perjury, 'tis Conscience that bad them do it all. And whatsoever they wish or desire, they account it as ratified and rendred sacred by her command. If therefore an absolute Liberty of Conscience be demanded, Kings will have no power, and every man will be his own King. It is certain, Kings have a power over men ; but every one's Conscience is the Man himself, therefore the Man, and the Conscience of the man, is the same : If therefore they have no power over the one, they have no power over the other.

When the right to an universal Liberty of Conscience is taken away, it is afterwards to be requir'd only upon certain conditions ; therefore Conscience it self is not to be oppos'd to the commands of Kings, but some Law by which some-

something antecedent is commanded, contrary to their commands. Now a divine Law can be of force against them; therefore the Sectaries must produce some Law out of the holy Bible, by which they are forbidden to pay obedience to the establish'd rules of the Church of *England*: If they cannot, they are oblig'd to obey: Then the most celebrated Liberty of Conscience must fall, and the dispute be brought only to this, whether the Church of *England* has commanded any thing that is forbidden by God? But all the contention that is rais'd by them, is concerning some ceremonies of worship; as whether it is lawful to mark the forehead of a person that is baptiz'd, with the sign of the cross? Whether we may wear a surplice in performing divine service? Whether we may receive the holy Sacrament kneeling? and the like. Which if they are trifles, are yet, even in *Calvin's* judgment, tolerable ones, never forbidden in the holy Bible, and therefore subject to human laws. And if perhaps they
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are not agreeable to some nice persons, yet they are not of so much moment as to be preferr'd before the peace and authority of the Church. It ought to be something great and national, that should afford a lawful excuse for a division in the Church, as *Optatus* formerly said to the *Donatists*, who said they would rather die than return into the Church. He spoke to this effect: *It is said to no one, Deny God; it is said to no one, Burn your Testament; it is said to no one, Either offer Frankincense, or pull down your Churches; for such things as these, are wont to produce martyrdoms.* And against the same persons, *St. Austin* also speaks to *Januarius*: *That which is enjoined, which is neither contrary to the Catholick Faith, nor to good Morality, is to be taken indifferently, and observ'd for the sake of that Society in which we live.* This was always a law to all, that little matters were not sufficient to justify divisions; but whatsoever is commanded, unless it be plainly impious, becomes a duty.

By

By this one Law, the Church and State has always stood; and if this be taken away, there can be no right or power of Government; for its power only extends to these things. Moreover, the excuses which they pretend for the defence of their Schism, are sought for only as a pretence for war: And first of all, as for their great maxim, That nothing is lawful in divine worship, except it be commanded by God; it is not only said without reason, but falsely: For nothing is appointed by God concerning the Christian Worship, except the two Sacraments; all other things are left to the discretion of the Church. And if this maxim is of any force, it will hold no less against them, than against the Church, since they use their manner of worship as well as we use ours. The same is also prov'd concerning their other excuses, of christian liberty, of the obligation of not giving offence to weak brethren, of the authority of a doubtful and uncertain conscience; all these, of how great authority soever they are,
must

must submit to the power of Kings. There is no right better than theirs, under God; therefore these lesser matters must altogether vanish away, if this interposes.

Lastly, I shew'd that it was neither just nor modest for them to ask any indulgence of the King, who were all lately involv'd in Treason; and that such a liberty, desir'd by such persons, did not tend towards Religion, but Rebellion. If they are the same persons that they were, they are open and professed enemies of Monarchy; that if they refus'd to renew the pledges of their allegiance and fidelity, they should at least ingenuously give some tokens of it. Perhaps by that modesty they might obtain the King's indulgence. Otherwise, they would offer an affront to his Majesty, in thinking him so weak and foolish, as to give such open enemies an opportunity of forming themselves again into cabals and conspiracies. And this would certainly be the consequence, if they were allowed to meet together in
compa-

companies and conventicles, as they pleas'd : For it was known that their Leaders and Teachers were all veteran enemies of the Royal Cause, and were all intrigued with an insatiable desire of bringing their Kings into subjection : That they attempted to subvert the Constitution, under a pretence of maintaining their liberty ; and would never be at rest, till by violence they had wrested the King's Scepter from him : That it was not a matter of Religion, but of government ; whether they should obey Kings, or Kings should submit to them. By their principles, the People are superior to Kings, and have a power to punish them : That the order of things being inverted, Kings should be subject to their Subjects, and Subjects govern. For what else is the meaning of that great maxim of them all, That it is not only lawful for the States of the Kingdom to restrain the licentiousness of Kings by force, but that they receiv'd this power from God himself, and unless they use it, they are base betrayers of

of the liberty of the people that is committed to their charge. What also means that principle, That the King is subject to the Law, and the Law to the People; and that it is lawful to resist a King that oppresses the Kingdom, or lays waste the Church of God; and to pursue him with war, if he persists in it; and to punish him in what manner they please, if he is overcome? Lastly, if victory inclines to the Rebels side, they call their success a token of Divine Favour: And whatsoever rebellious Subjects do against their King, they do it by the direction of Providence. These principles are common to all the Sectaries, especially the Presbyterians and Independents; who as they are very numerous, so they are the chief that claim Liberty of Conscience. The most famous Teachers in each Sect taught all these things, not only in their sermons, but in books that are publish'd. If they denied this, we were ready to prove it, from their own writings: which, when afterwards they were not ashamed to deny, was suffi-

ently demonstrated. If the liberty of their Meetings were granted to them, every Conventicle where such doctrines are set forth, would be a plentiful magazine of Rebellion. Lastly, whatsoever they afterwards did, I foretold it; neither indeed had any one that knew the men any occasion for the spirit of prophecy or divination, to foretell what would be the issue; for where the eagles are gather'd together, it is a sure token, that the carcases are near. Their Teachers in vain strive to conceal it, since the more they endeavour to hide their wickedness, so much the more it is discover'd. When therefore there was no innocent, no learned, no sober man of the Faction, that would defend their cause, at length they sent forth this scoffer upon the stage, who when he had turn'd every thing that was serious into mockery and ridicule, the people, with loud laughter, at once applauded and despis'd the buffoon. Thus, by ridiculing God and the King, Religion, the Church, and common Modesty, by

comical and Jewd buffoonery, they eluded the most important controversy. Nor was any thing seriously written, besides praises of the Royal Indulgence for the Liberty of Conscience that was granted to the Dissenters: For this he joyfully congratulates both the King and Kingdom; hence he foretells every thing prosperous to both, and affirms, that by this one piece of policy, the Government was establish'd, divisions were clos'd, and the foundations of everlasting peace were laid. If there were any that should oppose it, they would be enemies, not only of the Kingdom, but of the Royal Prerogative; for it is its principal right, to indulge with clemency in matters of Religion. Civil Laws are always in force; but Ecclesiastical are at the pleasure of the King. Neither can he use his power better than by relaxing the Laws, in behalf of tender consciences. Behold! This is the same author, who who at another time, that he might cast envy and reproaches upon the King, loudly affirm'd that by the same indul-

gence Religion was betrayed, the State subverted, the Laws scornfully ridicul'd and eluded; and that Tyranny was aim'd at and propos'd. This truly is the spirit of the faction, to abuse every thing to the destruction of the kingdom, to breath heat and cold out of the same mouth, as either shall seem likely to produce the greater mischief.

From this fountain sprang the greatest calamities and misfortunes of the *English* Government; for this liberty being once granted, one ruin precipitately tumbled and rolled upon another: First of all, as the Majesty of the Government was weakned by yielding to rebellious subjects, so their boldness and insolence in Rebellion was increas'd: For they said that the Toleration was not granted by love, but extorted thro' fear; therefore they did not acknowledge that they were oblig'd to the King for any kindness; for if he had not granted it in time, he should have found both their power and their resolution. But their liberty being now gotten, or rather restor'd,

stor'd, they wou'd never hereafter suffer themselves to be tamely brought into slavery. By these allurements (for nothing is sweeter to the people than the name and shadow of Liberty) they brought over so many of the populace, on all hands, to their party, that the whole Nation immediately groan'd under them, and wondred to see it self become fanatical.

I thought it necessary to insist the longer upon this subject, because as it is a matter of the greatest moment in human life, so it is as yet scarce sufficiently understood, even by the wisest men. Upon this rock, most Politicians have chiefly split, who being but moderately solicitous about Religion themselves, look upon it impertinent to trouble others about it: They think it is usual for the people to please themselves with their own fancies in Religion; that if they leave every one to his own superstition, they will be pleas'd as children are with baubles, and be quiet; but if you deny them, you may more safely

provoke a nest of hornets. That hence arise frequent civil wars, because the weakness of the common people is not indulg'd: For if you let them alone, they will be easy; but superstition disturb'd, is turn'd into rage and enthusiasm. Lastly, that Religion is to be promoted by instruction, not by violence, which if it be used, it will force an outward shew of piety, but will produce nothing but Atheism, and a hatred of all Religion; for whatever is done by compulsion, will always be ungrateful. I have known these to be popular arguments, and of great esteem amongst the writers of history, and not only men of a slender reputation, but those of considerable weight; and they especially pleas'd the great *Thuanus* himself, the father of modern history, who thro' the candour of his temper did in every page recommend this moderation in the affairs of the Church. But this otherwise discerning man, did not perceive, that it is one thing for Religion to be forc'd, and another for it to be defended

defended or repell'd by force. I confess it ought not to be forc'd, for if it is not voluntary, it is nothing. But if a new Religion is entring into the country of any Prince, if it is not pleasing to him, he may repel it by force and arms. If it be sincere, harmless and innocent, let it enter, as the Christian Faith did in the first ages; but if it uses violence to propagate it self, it will be open Rebellion. There is therefore no danger from Religion, how much soever oppress'd, if it be ingenuous and modest; if it be not, it is to be resisted and repuls'd as an enemy. But this has been the crime and pest of all sects, that being forbidden, they do not stick to maintain themselves by war against the commands of Kings; in subduing whom, force was not oppos'd to Religion, but force against force. Religion is not the matter in dispute only, the Kingdom is to be defended against a hostile invasion: They may think what they please, provided they do not raise a flame in another's territories. But if

they dare to do it, they deserve to suffer punishment for their rashness and presumption. If indeed any King should invade another's Country, only that he might impose his Religion upon the vanquish'd, that would be forcing of Religion; neither truly do I think it lawful. But to defend a Religion which the authority and legislature of the Kingdom has before embrac'd, and establish'd by laws, against a new persuasion, this is not to force my Religion upon others, but to defend it against the force that is offer'd to it. And this has been the true state of the war in every Kingdom, between Kings and them that are given to change. These were the first aggressors, whom when Princes would drive out of their Country by force, they do not offer violence to their Religion, but prevent their offering force to their own. This ought to be the first and principal motive and ground of war for Religion, not to promote my Religion by arms, but to put a stop to the promoting of another.

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Another reason is, when the authority of the State has for the support of the Church enacted penal Laws against obstinate delinquents. I confess there was no occasion for this power at the first appearance of the Christian Faith: For when they could invite men into the Church without any allurements, but only the sincere love of Religion, it was then sufficient punishment for any one to be cast out of that society, in which alone they thought a happy life was to be obtain'd, into the confines of hell and everlasting destruction. Therefore in the infancy of Christianity, the punishment of excommunication very well sufficed for the discipline of the Church. For what could strike greater terror upon the minds of men than the fear of everlasting punishment immediately ensuing? which was thought most certainly to follow the sentence of excommunication. But when Emperors and Kings afterwards came into the Church, and heap'd great privileges upon it, the wicked as well as the good equally follow'd

such leaders; only the former seem'd to act with greater zeal, because they follow'd not the Church, but the Court; being worshippers of the Emperor, not of Christ. Hence arose a new province and duty for Princes to take care that no harm might happen to the Church upon their account. Therefore leaving to the Church its own jurisdiction over all that are influenced by true Religion, they resolv'd to drive those from the Church by the imperial sword, whom the Church could not reach with the spiritual. For the wicked, altho' they regarded not its sentence, yet as long as they profess'd themselves Christians, they gave as much offence as if they were really so. The Emperor therefore took them under his temporal jurisdiction, and kept off those whom the Church had cast out, which she was not able in her self to do; and, as he pleas'd, chastiz'd them with punishments, not as Christians, but as obstinate and rebellious subjects. This use of penal Laws in matters of Religion, prevail'd from
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the times of *Constantine*; which always follow'd the sentence of the Church, but never went before it. Hence was that great bulk of Imperial Laws, concerning the affairs of the Church; hence were the *Codices* of the Emperors *Theodosius* and *Justinian*; hence the *Basilica* in the *East*, and the *Capitularia* in the *West*. And this was the only defence of the Church by the Emperors, not absolutely passing Ecclesiastical Laws, but maintaining them when made by the Church, and ratifying them with pen-
nal sanctions.

The kind reader will, I hope, forgive the extraordinary length of this relation. The remembrance of fresh misery, is apt to lengthen out discourse, and incline us to bewail it. That terrible storm is before my eyes, in which we saw our Country almost swallow'd up. I seem to my self to behold all the dangers of shipwreck; the ship one while dash'd against the rocks, another time suck'd in by the waves, toss'd about from side to side, and ready to perish under every billow;

billow ; but at length, when all hopes of safety were despair'd of, brought by a kind of miracle, safe into the haven. We were so near to destruction, that we can hardly believe that we still live ; neither can we look back without horror upon the greatness of the danger. But whatsoever evils we suffer'd, they all proceeded from this unhappy policy. The enemies of the Kingdom had labour'd for twelve years in making this engine, before they could prevail to have it received within our walls. When they had gained this point, thinking they had now sufficiently accomplish'd their business, they stuck at nothing, and immediately drawing all their forces together, they broke forth into civil war : For the same day that liberty was granted to these Sectaries, the same men begun (what they call'd) the papal war ; and under a pretended fear and hatred of popery, they conspir'd both against Church and State. But as soon as the clamour about that matter ceas'd, they daily struck new terrors into the credulous

dulous people: And for six years together there was a continual trembling and consternation on every side concerning the invasions of the Papists, till at length, in *Oates's* plot, their villany burst out. They had then every thing so prepar'd for involving the Nation in a civil war, that if that unhappy Conspiracy had not happen'd at that time, they themselves would have brought another to perfection, which would have been publish'd to the people on the first day of the Parliament's meeting, as we shall shew at the proper time, if God shall grant us a continuance in life. In the mean time, those very men, by whose fraud and importunity this liberty was extorted, turn'd the King's mercy into a charge against him, and the very contrivers of it were the first that cried out that it was big with a popish design.

There were two enchanting terms, which at the first pronounciation could, like *Circe's* intoxicating cups, change men into beasts; namely, *Popery*, and

the French Interest. Which words, if any one did but slightly mention in the House of Commons, all serious counsels were immediately turn'd into rage and clamour. If men, otherwise sober, did only hear them once, it was sufficient to raise them to a degree of madness. But these infatuating words being laid aside, they had hitherto behav'd themselves with becoming modesty towards the King's Majesty. And as at their first meeting, no Parliament in any age was ever more eminent for fidelity and obedience to the King; so they could never be prevail'd upon by any allurements to revolt entirely from their first loyalty and obedience: and if perhaps they were in a ferment for a time, yet when the tempest of their anger was a little fallen, they return'd both to themselves and to their duty; which they shew'd in nothing more than in raising of taxes: for there hardly pass'd a session in which they had not granted whatsoever sum the King desir'd, with a free and generous spirit. And

perhaps by their munificence, they had in some measure taught the King to be prodigal, who was naturally not very parsimonious: For he that was in his own disposition too liberal, having immense riches heap'd upon him, could not refrain himself from indulging his liberality too much; neither do I think that any thing had so ill an effect upon the King, as that profuse tax of two millions and a half, which they rais'd in 1664, for the first *Dutch* war. From which time, being accusom'd to great expences, without fear of want, he never afterwards could learn a more cautious and moderate liberality. But to return to the series of affairs.

When the Duke of *York* had by his *ox. 20.* Proxy betroth'd the Duchess of *Modena*, ^{1673.} they humbly petitioned the King, desiring that he would command the marriage to be cancell'd. Hereupon the session was prorogued for six days, that they might consider with themselves, how indecently they had intermeddled with an affair that was out of their province.

vince. But the first day of their meeting again, the same petition was not only renew'd, but strengthened and forc'd with arguments; That if such a marriage should be consummated, it would endanger Religion, give great scandal and grief to the King's Protestant subjects, and engage the King in Popish alliances: That it had been long perceiv'd, that such marriages encourag'd the growth of Popery: That this had rais'd the spirits of the Papists too much: That they would not have the reverence and love of the people of *England* towards the Duke of *York* (which was very great) be lessen'd and abated: That it was a wretched thing that the Nation should never be free from the fear of Popery: That it had been now for a hundred years under the dread of it: And lastly, that the Dukes had many considerable relations in the Court of *Rome*.

The King smiling, answer'd, that he was not a Pope, that could dissolve and annul a marriage that was perform'd according

according to the Law of Nations; and that he wondred that they had not interpos'd when the Duke not long since had desir'd a marriage with the Duchefs of *Viponts*: That certainly the rights of marriage were as free and open to Princes of the Royal Line as to any other. Having receiv'd this answer, and being influenc'd by imprudent council, they rashly, and as it were tumultuously, pass'd these three votes: First, That they would not grant any taxes, till Religion should be secur'd by the removal of Popish Counsellors. Secondly, That publick prayers should be appointed to appease the divine anger, and prevent the approaches of Popery. And lastly, that the small army which the King had, should be disbanded. Then the Parliament was prorogued to the 7th of *January*, and *Shaftsbury* being now remov'd, the marriage was solemniz'd.

On the 7th of *January*, 1674, the Parliament met; and at the opening of it, the King complain'd that he had in vain endeavour'd to bring the *Dutch* to a peace;

peace; for they derided all the terms of accommodation, and while they pretended to treat in earnest about it, they were in the mean time busy in preparing for war: Therefore he advis'd them to put a seasonable stop to the enemy; for he had a fleet well fitted out, provided pay was not wanting for the seamen; and if they would enable him to pay them, he promis'd that he would procure such a peace from the enemy, as they themselves should think honourable. Otherwise the *Dutch* would impose upon him, being unarm'd, whatsoever terms that haughty Nation should think fit. And this alone had made the enemy averse to peace, because they received information from *England*, that the Parliament would grant no supplies for the war; when that vain hope was remov'd, he should easily obtain such a peace as they desir'd.

But they had no regard to whatsoever was said about peace or war, for Religion was before all things at their heart; they said that was in more danger from
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the Papists, than the Kingdom was from the *Dutch*. First of all, therefore, a day of fasting and supplication must be proclaim'd; then every one's rights and liberties must be rescued from tyranny: That this was not to be hop'd for, unless the evil Counsellors were remov'd, who were at present in the highest power: Lastly, since there was so great a clamour (rais'd designedly by themselves) concerning a Popish Conspiracy, they beg the King that the Train-Bands might be in a readiness for action, in every County of the Nation, especially at *London*.

Upon this the people were astonish'd and amaz'd, being the more concern'd, because they heard that they were near to so great a danger, and yet knew not whence it rose, or where it lay; for they saw no enemy at home that was able to carry on a war, unless every single person could kill five hundred; for the number of papists is not greater in proportion to the rest; neither did they much fear that it would rain armed

men. When they found that no enemy could be so near at hand, unless they came from beyond sea, they were in a vast terror concerning a descent to be made by the *French*; by which fraud they chiefly impos'd upon the people, because they always join'd the *French* to the Popish Interest: As if the one was to lay the schemes, and the other put them in execution; and if there was occasion for any thing to be done for the service of the Popish cause, the *French* were to do it by force and arms. With which fiction (as gross and enormous as it was) they kept the people for some years in that consternation, that there were hardly more outrageous tumults in *Rome* when *Hannibal* was at the gates. And indeed, they had so familiarly accustom'd themselves to these monstrous lies, that at the first opening of *Oates's* plot, they with a ready and easy credulity receiv'd all his fictions; for whatsoever he publish'd, they had long before expected. Nay, they made even the King's authority serve to carry on

on their farce, Proclamations being daily extorted from him by their importunity, which requir'd the Papists to depart from the city, and the Soldiers from the *French* service: For these would make a compleat army, which unless it was timely dissolv'd, would some time or other return to the destruction of their Country. Nor did they raise a lesser terror from the *English* than from the *French* soldiers; intimating that they were therefore sent into *France*, that being inured to warlike discipline, they might return with hostile arms into their own Country. When therefore the King found that there was a manifest revolt from him in Parliament, and all Councils were turn'd into malice and faction, he made the peace (the substance of which we have mention'd before) upon more honourable conditions than could be expected, considering their obstinacy. After this was concluded, the Parliament was prorogued from the 24th of *March*, to the 10th of *November* following; and thence it was put off

by several prorogations, to the 13th of *April*, 1675.

In the mean while, the Factious diligently plied their work, scattering sedition every where, bewitching the people with false doctrines, augmenting the strength of the faction, and aiming at this one point, to engage the votes of the people for themselves, in case of new elections for Parliament. Thinking they had sufficiently done this, when at length the Parliament met, they perplex'd all its councils with disputes and controversies, that no measures being brought to effect while it sat, the King might be forc'd to call a new Parliament, in which they did not doubt but they should have the majority. The Conspiracy was known to the King; and in the speech which he made on the first day of the Session, he earnestly exhorted all good men to beware of it. But this caution came too late; the infection had spread too far: Immediately it was disputed in the House of Lords (which

Lords Journals. was never done before) whether thanks should

should be given to the King, according to custom, for his gracious speech. The opinion of those prevail'd, who were for returning thanks; but the factious withstood it; and, that a monument of their opposition might remain to posterity, every one of them entred his protest, with his name, in the Records of the House. In the lower House nothing was done or talked, but motions made for the removing the King's Counsellors, inflicting severer punishments upon the Papists, dealing more mildly with the Nonconformists, recalling the King's subjects from the *French* service, managing the Treasury better, making preparations for a Fleet at sea, and in short, for a total change. Against these open attempts to subvert the Government, others oppos'd a new oath of fidelity, to be taken by all that should hold any office in the State, or should hereafter sit in Parliament, That it is unlawful to bear arms against the King, upon any pretence whatsoever; and that they do from their heart abhor that impious po-

sition, that it is lawful to fight upon the King's authority against his person, or those that are commission'd by him; and lastly, that they will not attempt a change of either the ecclesiastical or the civil Government. Hence there arose such a quarrel and clamour, that several days were spent in contention, nor were they ever known to have contended with more animosity. The numbers of the factious were less than the other, tho' there were many that were not in the Conspiracy, who came over to them, that the privileges of the Lords might not be impair'd; by which turn of the debate they got the matter to be drop'd: For thus they entred it in their Journals, *April 21. 1675.* that the question might not be brought into dispute, " We the Peers of this Kingdom de-
" clare, that the rights of the Nobility,
" and the customs of Parliament are
" weakned, by the bare putting the
" question, Whether this oath shall be
" taken? For the right of voting in
" Parliament does not depend upon
" certain

“ certain conditions, but descends by
“ inheritance; neither can there be any
“ loss of it, but that by which the ho-
“ nour of the Nobility is forfeited; and
“ that can be forfeited only by Trea-
“ son. Therefore they protest by the
“ memories of their ancestors, and by
“ the dignity of their families, that they
“ will never suffer the privileges of the
“ Nobility so much as to be brought
“ into dispute.” And they withstood it
with that obstinacy, that at length the
whole Parliament (another debate being
designedly rais’d by the factious Mem-
bers) partly being wearied with con-
tending, and partly thro’ a desire of re-
taining their liberty, that their ancient
rights might not by this example be
brought under new restraints, resolved
that for the future no Law should be
propos’d to require a new oath to be
taken in Parliament. Neither perhaps
was it ill advis’d; for no care in Noble-
men ought to be more constant, or can
be more laudable, than for the ancient
privileges and prerogatives of the Nobility;

lity; for if there once begins a slight change, there will never be an end of innovations. Nevertheless, their rights were in no danger from this oath, for there was nothing in it but what they had sworn in the oath of allegiance. But since the Presbyterians, tho' bound by that oath, had yet by that evasion of separating the King's authority from his person, rebell'd against King *Charles* the First, it could not seem hard to any honest well-meaning man, or lover of his Country, to put a stop to this treacherous equivocation, by the security of a new oath. Now the factious saw very well the scope and drift of this Law, therefore they strove hard that this passage might be always open for them to invade the Government: For no one was ignorant, and least of all the factious, that the same had, even from the King's return, been both requir'd of every one that held any office in the State, and also taken by most of the Nobility: For they had chiefly executed the greatest offices in the Militia, so
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that they had no occasion to oppose it, if they had not had something farther in their view. They would have the Monarchy lessen'd, to the increase of their own and the people's power; therefore they could not bear that it should be guarded by new laws against their endeavours; especially since they were taking the same measures, which they so successfully pursued against *Charles the First*, they were afraid lest the way for accomplishing this design should be stopp'd up by this oath. However, they were resolv'd to make this use of the present debate, that by it they might obstruct and perplex the King's affairs; and what that party chiefly aim'd at, was, that nothing propos'd to the House shou'd come to any issue; whereupon the King, growing weary of his Parliament, wou'd be obliged to dissolve it: If this was once effected, they doubted not but they and their friends should be chosen into the next Parliament. This therefore was the reason that the contention concerning the rights of the Nobility being
not

not yet laid asleep, they renew'd the ancient one between the two Houses, concerning prerogatives and privileges. A great and fierce engagement indeed! and the most memorable of all that ever happen'd in Parliament. The former, between *Skinner* and *Bernardiston*, which began in the year 1668, continued burning for a year and a half, before it was extinguish'd. But this, as it was more lasting, so it was carried on with more contentions, and greater animosities, so that the Houses, forgetting their dignity, almost proceeded to arms. But it began thus: When the factious found themselves out-voted in the House of Lords, concerning the oath that was to be impos'd, and that they could no longer hinder, but that it must pass into a Law, they kindled this contention between the Lords and Commons, that while they were eagerly intent upon it, the other might be drop'd. And it happen'd, even beyond their hopes, that they not only deferr'd, but absolutely destroy'd the Bill: For when they began
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to be more warmly engaged in this new debate, they all came to that resolution of throwing out the question, lest while they were attacked from without, they might be destroy'd by divisions within. Nor was the dispute that was rais'd, about a small matter, but concerning the very highest and most valuable jurisdiction belonging to the House of Lords, even the right of receiving Appeals, which had been the chief prerogative of the Nobility from the earliest times that are mention'd in our Annals, and had never been call'd in question before. The matter was thus manag'd by the factious in both Houses: A cause being judg'd in the Court of Chancery, between *Sherley* a Doctor of Physick, and *Fagg*, a Member of the lower House (who were both Fanaticks;) *Sherley*, against whom the sentence was given, appeal'd to that supreme Court, the House of Lords; and *Fagg* was cited to plead his cause. The matter being communicated by him to the lower House, he was forbidden to appear: But
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he appear'd, and procur'd a longer time. In the mean while, *Sherley* was order'd into custody by the lower House; and being taken by their Serjeant at Arms, he was rescued with violence and tumult, by one of the House of Peers, a man of great power in the Faction, who tore the order of the House of Commons. The factious in the lower House complain'd of the violence done to their authority. Their confederates in the upper House cried out on the other hand, that the thing was justly done. They on the contrary, came to a resolution, that it was contrary to parliamentary right, and not to be suffer'd. But the Peers vow'd that they would never depart from their right; that it was in vain for the Commons to strive any longer, for this was their perpetual resolution; *That the Peers have an undoubted right to judge in matters of appeal, altho' one of either House should be concern'd in the suit, that there may be no stop or intermission of justice, even for a moment.* The other House pass'd a resolution

resolution contrary to this. Thus the differences running very high, other new appeals were daily brought by the factious; and the dispute arose to quarrelling and exclaiming, then to railing and reproaching, and lastly, to anger and hatred. But the chief misdemeanour that they charg'd each other with, was, that they had designedly destroy'd the mutual peace and concord between the Houses, that they might be of no use or service for the future; and that the only thing which they aim'd at was to provoke the King to dissolve the Parliament. But he knew too well their design, and therefore deferr'd it. They still grew the more inflam'd, till at length the Houses forbid all conferences with each other. Thus the Kingdom being divided as it were into two Governments, each House acted separately, forbidding all correspondence with the other. The Peers gave judgment upon a cause; and the lower House took the Lawyers that pleaded the cause before them, together with the Appellant himself,

self, into custody. The Peers order'd that they should be discharg'd. Thus every one that obey'd either, was certainly imprison'd by the other. The King interpos'd in these great divisions and distractions of the Kingdom, and desir'd them to refer the matter to him, and promis'd that he would judge impartially: He told them that it was no difficult dispute, but designedly promoted by seditious men, in both Houses, which he had given them an intimation of in the beginning of the session; and unless they took the utmost care to disappoint their designs, all the use and authority of Parliament would henceforth be destroy'd; therefore he exhorted them to consult only the interest of the Kingdom for the future, laying aside these little unbecoming disputes. But the more he endeavour'd to cool them, so much the more the flame increas'd; breaking out of the Houses of Parliament, and spreading among the people, each House as it were appealing to them, by publishing libels. Thus all hopes of

peace being now cut off, the Parliament was prorogued from the 9th of *June*, to the 13th of the following *October*. Upon which day, when the Parliament met, the King earnestly intreated them, that at least, deferring their contentions about the matter in dispute, they would first consult for the good of the Kingdom, for he had immediate occasion for a supply for building of ships. In return to this, the factious were full of complaints and grievances concerning the growth of Atheism, the *French* Interest, and Popery. These things must be first amended, and the divine anger appeas'd by publick supplications, before they could consult about the affairs of the Kingdom. But the better part of the House prevail'd, ordering a supply of three hundred thousand pounds for the building of twenty ships of the first rate. But on the 19th of *October*, when the factious saw that the resolutions in the lower House were likely to have a prosperous issue, on a sudden *Sherley's* cause was started again in the upper ;
and

and was carried on with greater animosity than before; for now the dispute was not concerning the privileges of Members of Parliament, but concerning even the liberties of the Subjects, the dispute being chang'd into this question, Whether there was any right of appealing at all to the House of Peers? The House of Commons, by a Resolution publish'd, declar'd *there was none: And if any one made an appeal, he was a betrayer of the rights and liberties of the Subjects of England, and ought to be punish'd as a Traitor.* In the House of Lords they were divided into several opinions; sincere and well-dispos'd men were for putting off the dispute for six weeks, and for first considering of the great and important affairs of the Kingdom; for there was an especial occasion for a supply for building of ships, and a fleet must be quickly fitted out, otherwise every thing at home and abroad would suffer: For the Councils about publick affairs had been so long obstructed by these private disputes, to

the incredible damage of publick affairs. These being once finish'd, they might pursue the other as they pleas'd.

But when the Faction, by continual speaking, had protracted *Sherley's* cause in the upper House, the flame was continued in the lower House, by the same industry of their associates, till all hopes of accommodation between the Houses were gone; whereupon they mov'd in the upper House, to address the King, that he would dissolve the Parliament: First, because law and custom requir'd the frequent callings of Parliaments: Secondly, because it seem'd unreasonable that a few men should claim to themselves alone, for so many years, the whole power over the people of *England*. Lastly, because it was found that the long continuance of the same Parliament in power always tended to discords and seditions; which (they said) they had too plainly found in the dispute between *Sherley* and *Fagg*: And that this was the reason that all their consultations were brought to no issue.

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But when the majority were against addressing the King, the factious enter'd their dissent in the Records of the House. There were so great disorders rais'd in both Houses by the Conspirators, that the King, provok'd at the baseness of their proceedings, commanded the Parliament to be prorogued for a year and three months. On the 15th of *February*, 1676, the day appointed for their meeting, the Parliament assembled; and the King, according to custom, graciously and courteously, but somewhat more earnestly, exhorted them to unanimity, and that they would not suffer their ancient differences to be renew'd, for they were mean, and unbecoming the dignity of Parliament, and not of sufficient moment to disturb the peace of the Kingdom: And they ought in the first place to take care of that, and not to consult upon any affair, till they saw that was safe and in good condition. He promis'd them every thing that was good, if they would but agree amongst themselves: That he would
pass

pass whatsoever Laws they should modestly desire, for the safer preservation of their Religion and Liberties. Lastly, he call'd God and man to witness, that he should be innocent and free from all blame, if afterwards the publick interest should suffer by discords and seditions between themselves: But if they should persist in them, he would no longer bear such clamours and factious outrages. The factious, when they were hardly return'd to the House, did in a moment make an assault upon the Parliament, as if they had leaped out of a place of ambush: They said, that the prorogation had been continued beyond the year, and by the Laws of *England* there ought to be at least annual meetings of Parliament; and therefore being deferr'd longer, they were dissolv'd; and it was their duty voluntarily to dissolve themselves. At the same time, a prodigious rabble of people fill'd all the avenues to the House. These were gather'd together out of a street call'd *Wapping*, which is inhabited by the refuse and dregs of

the people, Porters, Seamen, Bargemen, Butchers, Coblers, Curriers, Ropers, and all kinds of ordinary Mechanicks, even an immense multitude of men. By their tumults and licentious noise at the very doors of both Houses, our factious mob-drivers thought they should strike such a terror into the Parliament, that they might rage with the greater insolence within the House. And if they had happen'd to have carried their point, they had a mob ready to proclaim through the city with triumphant shouts and huzza's, that the Parliament was dissolv'd: For it was the custom of the Faction frequently to call together such assemblies as these to enter into consultations with them concerning publick affairs, and be present with them at their feasts, that when they had been (as it were) drenched in wine, they might be enrag'd with greater zeal. By which arts the Rebellion against *Charles* the First was set on foot and begun; the footsteps of which they so exactly trod in, that they betray'd the barrenness

ness of their wit and wisdom ; for it shews a dull and heavy genius to invent nothing new, and always to follow a pattern ; and it was altogether foolish, to dwell upon a thing so well known, and so fresh in the memory of men. Which thing alone, in my opinion, preserv'd the Government from new destruction, only because it was destroy'd but a few years before. But the factious being supported by such great numbers of their black guard, begun to debate concerning the dissolution of the Parliament, before they wou'd suffer any thing to be laid before the House. The Peers so sharply resent'd this insolence of the men, that they immediately order'd them to beg pardon. And when they refus'd, four of them were committed prisoners to the *Tower* (for as yet no more had shewn themselves) and among these was the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. These were prisoners for a year, and not set at liberty till they had begg'd pardon upon their knees. Their associates and accomplices in the lower

House being suddenly terrified at this example of the Peers, drop'd the question, as if they laid down their arms. A stop being so seasonably put to sedition, not only perfect peace and tranquillity, but a sober temper and disposition was renewed in the Parliament; a Tax of six hundred thousand pounds being granted for the building of thirty ships; which, notwithstanding the King had almost in his possession, he with difficulty kept, and not without a hard struggle: for there was presently rais'd a dispute between the Houses, concerning privileges and forms of words. This the factious on both sides aggravated and blew up into as great a contention as they could. Which when the Peers saw there would be no end to, they chose rather to recede from their power, than not assist and relieve the Kingdom in so great a necessity. This concession (that it might not become a precedent) they entred in their book of Records, *April* the 16th, tho' some persons opposed it. Neither was the dispute ended, thro'
the

the contumacy of the Faction, till that time. When the factious saw matters stand thus, they urg'd the King, the Nation and the Parliament into war with the *French* King : And indeed it was a war not only not unjust, but pious, and even necessary, and approv'd by all good men ; and to which the King was before inclin'd of his own accord. The Provinces of *Flanders* are situated the nearest to the *British* sea ; these, as long as they were a part of the *Spanish* dominions, were a defence to *England* against a foreign enemy, as a tower or castle lying between : But the *French* King had penetrated into these Provinces by sudden and violent excursions, taking many towns and cities : And there was no enemy to oppose the Conqueror. The *Spaniard* was but in a very weak condition to enter upon a war ; for he had neither soldiers nor money to pay them. The *Dutch* being worn out with a long course of wars, complain'd that they were no longer able to bear it. From the year 1665, the *English* had

harrafs'd them at sea; and from 1672, the *French* had broke in upon them by land; making a treaty with *England*, in 1674, they had from that time fought several battles with the *French*, not very successfully: Heavy taxes were rais'd to pay their soldiers; neither did they only bear the expences of their own army, but paid half the charges of their Allies. It was the King of *England* alone, that was capable of restoring and giving life to their affairs, that had hitherto been declining, and almost entirely ruin'd. But he must speedily interpose, otherwise a Province that could now be defended, would afterwards be conquered. Therefore the King was pleas'd with so just, so necessary a war; and he said he would have undertaken it before, if he had not wanted a supply for the war; which if they would but allow, he would not defer it for a day. They made him rich and plentiful promises, but gave not a farthing. The King declar'd that he would not proclaim war till they had granted him
a sup-

a supply of six hundred thousand pounds to pay his soldiers. They neither granted nor denied it for the present; but deferr'd it to the next Session; *May 21.* which being come, they declar'd that they could grant no money, till they were assur'd of the alliance being made with the *Dutch*, and that the war was undertaken. When this was done, they would then at length consult of ways and means; and if the King would agree upon such terms of an alliance as pleas'd them, then they would assist him. The King was so provok'd at this new *May 28.* and unheard-of insolence, that he assur'd them he would never bear so great an indignity; for the right of making peace and war was in him alone, and did not belong to them at all: That this was without example, for the King had not only a power to make what alliances he pleas'd, but to make and require such conditions as he should think fit: That if he once gave up this, he should be no longer a King, but a Subject: That he should be accountable to the

the power of Parliaments : That he should appear, as well among his own subjects as foreigners, only to have the shadow, and an empty title of King.

Jan. 18.
1678.

Hereupon the Parliament was put off, by several prorogations, to another year : And when they met again, the King first of all told them that he had made an alliance with the *Dutch*, upon such terms as pleas'd him, and then desir'd a speedy supply, equal to the charges of the war : That less forces would not be sufficient than a fleet of ninety ships, and an army of at least thirty thousand men. If they would forthwith take care of it, he did not question but he should carry on the war successfully ; but he would never undertake it with but half

Jan. 23.

a force. Nevertheless, they not only proceed as before, but with much greater presumption detract from the Royal Dignity, resolving that no conditions of peace should be entred into but those that were agreed to in the *Pyrenean* Treaty : And then, that all correspondence with the *French* should be forbidden,

den, not only to the Confederates, but to all the world; but as to money towards the charge of the war, not a word was mention'd. The King being now no longer able to bear their impertinence and perverseness, in a threatening manner admonish'd them not to proceed, and declar'd that he would no longer delay, for either they must grant his requests without trifling, or he would immediately relinquish the war. Thus at length he, with much ado, extorted from them (very much against their wills) that supply which he had desir'd for a whole year together, towards that war which they themselves had begun, a fleet of ninety ships being fitted out, an army of thirty thousand men rais'd, and a tax of a million of money allow'd towards the war. The factious wish'd for nothing more than that the war should not be ended: For thus they always pretended loyalty to the King, first, that by large promises they might push him into a war, and then, when he was involy'd in it, and distress'd by

want of money, they might deliver him up, as a prey to his enemy; which at the same time was done, as far as was in their power: For having granted that supply to begin the war, they presently demanded that all trade with *France* should be forbidden for three years; by which the King lost more in his customs, than he got by the supply; for besides that the King of *France* reveng'd this Interdict, by forbidding all trade with *Great Britain* for ten years, heavier duties were laid upon *French* goods, whether the natural product of the country, or their manufactures, because they most commonly serve not so much for the necessaries of human life, as luxury and pleasure; such as are wine, brandy, silks and linen, the customs of which are every year computed at three hundred thousand pounds. Thus at length, they manag'd the affair by this new stratagem, that both should be pass'd by the same law, so that if the King receiv'd the supply, he must lose his customs; for he had it not in his power to divide them, but

but must either pass or reject both. As this custom of tacking laws begun at this time, by which things contrary or different are enacted by the same Law, so it also ended now; for the King *May 23.* forbade the same the next session. Nor was this only then attempted, but they pass'd another Law concerning clothes, that it should be lawful to wear only woollen, and those made at home, for the half of every year; by which there would be a greater loss not only of the customs, but of trade it self; wherefore the Peers rejected it, when it was pass'd by the lower House, as far as was in their power. But now the war being begun, and an alliance made with the *Dutch* upon honourable terms, the substance of which was this, That there should be perpetual peace and amity between the King of *Great Britain* and the States General: That both should have the same friends and enemies: That they should not lay down their arms, but by common consent, nor treat of peace separately: That they should with joint

joint forces endeavour to bring the Catholick and Most Christian Kings to a peace: That first of all the *French* shou'd restore to the *Spaniard* all the places in *Flanders* that were taken in the wars, and to the *German* Princes, especially the city of *Friburgh*, and the other cities and towns in the Province of *Brisgaw*; and then that *Lorrain* shou'd be restor'd entire to its Duke: And if either of the Kings shou'd refuse the terms which the King of *Great Britain* should offer, then he should be forc'd to it by arms. The King joyfully gave an account of the matter being so well transacted and consulted to his Parliament: But they immediately, contrary to every one's expectations, declar'd that the alliance by no means pleas'd them, and was contrary to the interest of the Kingdom. Upon this, the King being incensed with anger and indignation, two days after, by a message, commanded them to forbear this perverseness. Nevertheless they went on, and made repeated complaints of evil Counsellors,
even

even to the reproach of the King himself. The King being more highly provok'd, hardly gave them any answer, but ask'd them whether they were mad; for their unusual boldness and insolence was such, that he did not know by what name to call it. Hereupon the Parliament was prorogued for a fortnight.

But at the same time that the *Dutch* had drawn the King of *Great Britain* into an alliance, in order to a war, as if they had combin'd with our faction at home, they treated of a separate peace with the *French*. And whereas at the same time there was a treaty about a quadruple alliance, between the Emperor, the *Spaniard*, the *English* and the *Dutch*, an Embassador of the States was sent for that purpose into *England*; at first he wanted power, and then, after a long delay, instructions for treating were prescribed to him; and thus the time was protracted till they had made a separate treaty with the *French*; for the *French* hearing of the preparations
for

for war from *England*, voluntarily sent terms of peace to the Congress at *Nimwegen*, for the *Dutch*, whom he knew to have been long weary of the war. The rest of the Confederates were provok'd at the baseness of the conditions. The *Dutch* alone seem'd to comply. Hereupon there immediately appear'd a new face of things, when they who were the first in the war, were the first that sued for a peace. Therefore the Confederates complain'd in vain of the first alliance, and the King of *England* of his last; (by both which it was unlawful to make a separate peace.) But the *Dutch* would have a peace upon any terms, if they could but live; and the *French* King would have the Confederacy broken at any rate, since the King of *England* was come into it. Things standing thus abroad, when there was at the same time a revolt of the factious from the King at home, the interest of the Confederates being weakened by this fresh wound, was speedily ruin'd. For the *Dutch* pretending to
have

have lost all hope of assistance from the *English*, hasten'd to finish the peace which they had design'd: And the *French* King was in as much haste to bring the matter to an end, which was so rashly begun, that they might not have time to change their minds. By this apparently ludicrous change of affairs, the King of *England* was so provok'd, that he complain'd to the Parliament of the *May 23.* war being first begun at their importunate request, and now made a jest of by them, to the prejudice not only of him, but of all the Confederate Princes; that he was asham'd of such dishonourable trifling and inconstancy in his subjects; and that whatsoever should happen, the blame should not lie upon him. Lastly, he advis'd them to consider, what peace there was likely to be expected, since the alliance was dissolv'd, which could hardly be renew'd between so many Princes. If the *Dutch*, having violated their treaties, make a separate peace, they will plead our inconstancy in their defence: For they will say that they

made the alliance, being drawn in by your promises, that you would never be wanting towards the charges of the war, till the Most Christian King should be forc'd to a just peace: But now, when they found all your counsels chang'd into quarrels and disputes about Religion, and that no supply would be given till they were ended (altho' they will never have an end :) When they hear that the Royal Prerogative is violated by your bold demands, which are intolerable and most injurious; what wonder is it (says he) if all hope of assistance from *England* being gone, upon whose will and pleasure almost all the hope and fortune of *Europe* depended, as long as through your means there was concord at home, they should procure a peace upon what terms they could, while peace was to be obtain'd! Which being once done, the Confederates on all hands wou'd be dispers'd; the *Spaniard* could not support *Flanders*; neither could the Emperor, the *Dutch* and *Spaniard* being gone off, be an equal match for the enemy;

much less could *Lorrain*, *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh*; but must accept of whatever terms he shall please to impose upon the vanquish'd. If therefore the peace of *Europe* should be snatch'd away, when they had it almost in their hands, the fault would be in them alone: For the first failure was in them; which being once begun, all the Confederates would fall off, one after another; therefore they should either never have entred into the war, or have carried it on longer. But as the matter was manag'd by them, it was both a jest and an injury to all *Europe*. Before this, every one could have treated and made terms for himself; but now, each of them were expos'd single as a prey to the Conqueror, and must submit to his conditions. Neither had they only betray'd their Allies, but also themselves; for a very powerful King was now provok'd against them, and they could not be a match for him single, without their Confederates, much less when they were divided at home. But whatsoever misfortunes should arise either

to them or their Allies, he indeed should bear his share of the misery, but they would bear all the disgrace; therefore he exhorted them to make a stand, at least a little while, for all things look'd towards peace; there was a cessation of arms agreed to, which he doubted not would end in a peace, provided they would in the mean time be true to themselves, and stand to their arms; for honourable conditions were not to be expected, but with sword in hand: Therefore the fleet was not to be laid up, nor the army disbanded, neither would he discharge them, till the peace was made. After these things were spoke, they immedi-

May 27. ately, on that very day, resolv'd that the King should either directly open the war, or disband the army. But he declar'd, that he would not suffer it, till the time agreed on for a cessation of arms was expired; and requir'd money for to pay

May 30. the troops. They, on the next day of their sitting, demanded that all the forces should be immediately disbanded. Here-upon the King was more provok'd, and
charg'd

charg'd them with fresh perverseness, concerning the forces that were transported to *Flanders*, and told them he would not deal so basely with his Allies, as to give up the cities and towns that were committed to his protection, till they could send new forces to defend them; for that would be not only deserting the places, but betraying his trust. Hereupon they allow'd the forces in *Flanders* a month's pay. But they again more eagerly demanding that they should be disbanded, the King, while the peace was yet uncertain and fluctuating, made answer, that he would discharge neither the fleet nor the army, let them clamour never so much; for it wou'd be an eternal disgrace to the *English* Nation, to make so hazardous an experiment, barely to save a little money; and it would be an unprecedented thing to lay down their arms before their interests were settled by a peace: And if the forces were disbanded, the enemy would impose what conditions he pleas'd: And if he thought it his interest, as soon as he

June 7.

he heard that the army was disbanded, he would immediately break off the peace: That if this opportunity was once lost, it could never afterwards be recall'd; for to be defenceless, would be the same thing as to be vanquish'd: And that the interest of *Europe*, which had been preserv'd with so much labour and difficulty, would be destroy'd by their neglect: That he would never desert his Allies, but would either make a just peace or carry on the war: Lastly, whether they would grant a supply or not, since he had hitherto carried on the matter so successfully, that he would finish it by his arms, if he could not by his counsels. The Parliament, on the other hand, resolv'd to give a supply to pay off the army, and

June 15. no more. Yet in the mean time, matters daily inclining more to a peace, the King continued to tell them that the army should not be disbanded: For the

June 18. *Spaniard*, altho' the peace was made, wou'd not be able to maintain *Flanders*: Unless we were a safe-guard to it, it would be expos'd as a prey to every enemy: That

he

he would not desert it for the sake of any expence, cost what it would: If he had not hitherto defended it, it had been certainly taken before: That he would advise them only to consider, that the city of *Ostend* is in possession of the *French*, wherein was a fleet of forty ships, in a most commodious harbour, situated over-against the mouth of the *Thames*. What would not they give to remove so dreadful an enemy to a greater distance? Let them consider how great a glory it is to the *English* Nation, to have rais'd an army of thirty thousand men, and a fleet of ninety ships, in the space of forty days: That upon this the whole fortune of *Europe* was chang'd in a moment! If therefore they had any regard to the majesty of his Crown at home, if they had any value for a superiority of power amongst foreigners, in publick affairs; if they wish'd to have the war with the *Algerine* Pirates prosperously ended; if they desir'd any tranquillity for the remainder of their life, if they had any regard to the trust that he should henceforward repose in Parliaments,

ments, they ought to allow the usual supplies to his Exchequer, not only for a time, but for ever, adding withal a new tax of three hundred thousand pounds; otherwise the King of *England* would never be able to support the necessary expences of his government. To these things they made no answer, but that they would never give the sum that was desir'd. One hundred and forty five voted for giving it; two hundred and two voted against it. So far did the factious exceed the honest men in number. Therefore there was nothing farther done, than allowing six hundred thousand pounds for disbanding the army; which yet they hardly and with great struggles brought to effect, the usual disputes being daily rais'd between the Houses, to hinder all their consultations. But at length the tax being granted on the 25th of *July*, the Parliament was prorogued, first to the 1st of *August*, thence to the 29th, thence to the 1st of *October*, and then to the 21st; at which time the King acquainted the Parliament with *Oates's* conspiracy.

The End of the fourth Book.

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